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VOL. LXXII, NO. 1, JANUARY 1957

"Romigan Ures Rices": A Reconsideration

The English-speaking translators of the Old-English *Genesis-B* have been surprisingly reluctant to give an exact rendering of the phrase "romigan ures rices."¹ In context it is spoken by Satan, as he addresses his followers after they have been cast from heaven into hell:

Is þæs ænga styde	ungelic swiðe
þam oðrum [ham]	þe we ær cuðon,
hean on heofonrice,	þe me min hearra onlag,
peah we hine for þam alwaldan	agan ne moston,
romigan ures rices.	

(ll. 356-360)

The verb "romigan" is the Old-English counterpart of the Old-Saxon *romon* and the Old-High-German *ramen*, both of which mean "to strive for," and there is no reason why it should not have the same meaning. Yet it is usually not rendered that way in the context of *Genesis-B*.

Benjamin Thorpe was the first scholar to publish a translation of *Genesis-B* into Modern English. In his *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase*

¹ This and all subsequent quotations from *Genesis-B* are from *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York: 1931).

of *Parts of the Holy Scriptures* (London: 1832), he accounted for the passage under discussion with the following sentence:

This narrow place is most unlike
that other that we ere knew,
high in heaven's kingdom,
which my master bestowed on me,
though we it, for the All-powerful,
may not possess,
must cede our realm.

(p. 23)

In rendering "romigan ures rices" by "*must* cede our realm," Thorpe was almost certainly following John J. Conybeare's Latin translation,² in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: 1826):

*Siquidem nos eos
Per Illum Omnipotentem
Possidere non debemus,
Coacti cedere e regno nostro.*

(p. 190)

Since he was likewise replacing the negative "ne moston," in the preceding line, by the positive "*must*," it is clear that he understood "romigan" to mean the opposite of "to cede": "to keep" or "to enjoy possession of."

With minor differences, all subsequent English-speaking translators have followed Thorpe's example in their interpretation of "romigan ures rices."³ For instance, the version most familiar to modern

² In his introduction to *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase*, p. xvi, Thorpe expresses his gratitude to Conybeare for having lent him "his own interleaved copy of *Cædmon* [i. e., the Junius edition of 1655], containing his translation of a considerable portion of the poem." Conybeare's autograph Modern-English translation (now in the Houghton Library at Harvard University), which is the basis of his Latin translation of 1826, reads, "Is this the narrow place greatly unlike that other that we formerly knew high in the heavenly kingdom which to me my master assigned—although *without* it in the presence of the omnipotent *must* [sic] no longer possess it expelled from our kingdom." Italics are the present writer's and indicate doubtful letters.

³ W. H. F. Bosanquet, *The Fall of Man or Paradise Lost of Cædmon* (London: 1860): "must now our reign resign" (p. 20); S. H. Gurteens, *The Epic of the Fall of Man* (London and New York: 1896): "We never more can gain our cherished reign" (p. 402); A. S. Cook and C. B. Tinker, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry* (Boston: 1902): "no more . . . we hold royalties" (p. 113); C. W. Kennedy, *The Cædmon Poems* (London: 1916): "not . . . rule our kingdom" (p. 18), and *The Earliest English Poetry* (Oxford: 1943): "nor rule our kingdom" (p. 165); J. D. Spaeth, *Old English Poetry* (Princeton: 1927): "not . . . rule our realm" (p. 81). It is significant that the same observation holds true of German translations: J. P. E. Greverus, *Cædmon's Schöpfung und Abfall der bösen Engel* (Oldenberg: 1852):

readers—that of Robert K. Gordon in his *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London and New York: 1926 and 1949)—reads, “we could not . . . possess our kingdom” (p. 113). Presumably, the argument against translating “romigan” by “strive for” is one of logic: Satan is speaking in the past tense about a time when the fallen angels actually enjoyed the kingdom of heaven, hence the reasoning that they could not logically have been striving for something they already had. The translator must, therefore, find a new meaning for “romigan.” Bosworth and Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* reflects its compiler’s awareness of this situation when it translates the clause in which the problem word appears by “though we are prevented by the Almighty from possessing our former place and from striving after our former power.” This solution preserves both the correct historical sense of “romigan” and the logic of Satan’s utterance. We must, nevertheless, reject it, for it ignores the fact that “[ne] moston” is the past form of the preterit-present verb “motan,” and it renders it by the present “we are prevented.” The latest Modern-English version of the passage under discussion is that by Francis P. Magoun, Jr., and James A. Walker, in their *Old English Anthology* (Dubuque: 1950). The authors, whose translations are notably accurate, cautiously give the reader a choice between two alternatives: “to strive after (possess?) our realm” (p. 98), thus frankly suggesting the problem and strongly questioning the usual solution to it.

It is the present writer’s contention that the phrase “romigan ures rices” may be translated without offense to either meaning, tense, or logic, and without offering an alternate solution. The truth is that the Satan of *Genesis-B* never attempts to gain for his followers the place which they already occupy in heaven. Rather, he wants them to overthrow the rule of God and replace it by their own, with himself as their chosen leader. His decision to revolt is clearly and powerfully expressed with the words, “Ic mæg wesan god swa he. . . . Ne wille ic leng geongra wurþan” (ll. 283-291). We must note that he is speaking in the future—even if in the immediate future—and that God hears his proud words as soon as they are spoken: “þa hit se allwalda eall gehyrde . . .” (l. 292). Nor does God waste any time to hurl both him and his crew into hell (ll. 293-306), so that the

“wir . . . nicht . . . sollten . . . geniessen unsers Reiches” (p. 53); K. W. Bouterwek, *Cædmon’s des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen* (Gütersloh: 1854): “nicht . . . unsere Herrschaft räumen mussten” (p. 200); C. W. M. Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen stabreimend übersetzt* (Göttingen: 1857): “nicht . . . / unser Reich besitzen” (p. 11).

rebels are never given the opportunity to carry out their plans for revolt. In brief, God becomes aware that they are planning a rebellion and puts an end to it *before* they even begin striving ("romigan") for the mastery of heaven. This must necessarily be what Satan is alluding to when he addresses his companions at the bottom of hell.

In this light, there can be no doubt that, when the Old-English poet used the verb "romigan," he meant specifically "to strive for." Indeed, no other meaning fits the situation. If we further consider that the noun "rice" commonly refers to one's power or control over others, it seems that we must render the phrase "romigan ures rices" by "to strive for our supremacy."

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ALAIN RENOIR

The Verses in Lambeth Manuscript 265

Manuscript 265 of the Lambeth Palace Library¹ is familiar to many students of English literary history, since it contains the text also found in the first dated book to be printed in England (*The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*).² The special problems relative to the printed version which I have discussed elsewhere³ need not be touched upon here, as we are now solely concerned with the verse peculiar to this manuscript. The following lines are found below the miniature which, it is said, depicts Earl Rivers presenting the volume to Edward IV in the presence of the royal family:

This boke late translate here in sight
By Antony Erle [Rivers]⁴ that vertueux knyght
Please it to accepte to youre noble grace
And at youre conuenient leysoure and space
It to see reede and vnderstond

¹ Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930-32), pp. 412-414.

² Compare the facsimile, with Introduction, put out by William Blades (London, 1877). Further notes will be found in my edition of Scrope's translation for the EETS, OS 211 (1941), pp. ix-lxviii.

³ "Some Observations on *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*," *The Library*, 5th ser., VIII (1953), 77-88. Other articles by the present writer on the same problem are listed there.

⁴ Erasure or blank space in the manuscript.

A precious Jewelle for alle youre lond
 ffor therin is taught howe and in what wyse
 Men vertues shulde vse and vices despise
 The Subgettes theire Princes euer obeye
 And they theim in right defend ay
 Thus to do every man in his degre
 Graunte of his grace the Trinite.

This stanza is listed by Brown-Robbins under no. 3581,⁵ and is there attributed to Earl Rivers. This may, indeed, be the case, though the poem is not found in the four editions of the *Dictes* printed before 1529 (STC 6826-30).⁶ It is, of course, equally possible that the stanza was supplied by the scribe of the manuscript, who signs his name "Haywarde" at the end of the text. No printed version of this stanza is noted by the *Index of Middle English Verse*, though these lines had appeared in print, with minor errors, on at least two occasions early in the nineteenth century. They were printed by Thomas Park in his edition of Horace Walpole's *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (London, 1806), I, 216, note, and by Thomas Frognall Dibdin in his edition of Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (London, 1810-19), I, 62-63.

As James and Jenkins further pointed out, verses (written in a different hand) also occur at the end of the *Dictes* in this Lambeth manuscript. So far as this writer is aware, they are here printed for the first time:

Youe that haue redd, the contentes of thys booke,
 from ende to ende, with dyligence and payne,
 Pryntt in your hartes, as youe theron doe looke,
 whatt woorthye wytt, whatt counsaile dyd remayne,
 Wyth Infydelles, ffull manye yeares agoe,
 whoe were vntaught, to knowe whatt God should meane,
 And yett dyd spend, theyre tyme in ordre loe,
 lyke menne of grace, that had theyre consyence cleane,
 And pondre then, what more cause wee haue nowe,
 (that ffaythfull ar) to leade ovr lyues vppryght,
 Wee haue the lawes, that maye instruct hus⁷ howe,
 to ffolowe Chryste, the trewe lanterne of lyght.

⁵ Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), p. 572.

⁶ A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, 1475-1640* (London, 1946), p. 152.

⁷ According to *NED*, a good northern form for "us"; or carelessly written?

Conceyder thys, and labour to excede,
the paynymes lyfe, by ffaythe, and vertuous dede.
TER *

On the evidence of the handwriting, these lines would appear to have been written down early in the sixteenth century. Accordingly, this stanza is not included in the *Index of Middle English Verse* which confines itself to poems judged to have been written prior to the year 1500.

*The Pierpont Morgan Library,
New York*

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Hous of Fame and the House of the Musicians

In one of a series of booklets issued early in this century by the Touring-Club de France¹ appears a photograph of the famous thirteenth-century building in Reims known as the "Maison des Musiciens." The monumental *Architecture civile et domestique*, by Verdier and Cattois, contains a long article about this building, as well as two large plates showing its entire façade and details of the façade.²

Into the exterior stone walls of the front of this house, at the second-story level, five niches have been let into the masonry between windows. Each niche is outlined by a pointed Gothic stone arch containing a trefoliate arrangement at its apex. Each niche contains the statue, approximately life-size, of a seated man playing some musical instrument. The statues are all different from one another, and are realistically conceived in a manner not common in medieval architectural sculpture. One of the stone musicians is playing a fife and tambourine simultaneously, another a kind of bagpipe, another a

* Apparently the initials of the author of these lines.

¹ *Champagne et Ardennes* (issued as one of a series, and subsequently bound, under the title *Sites et Monuments*), Paris, 1906; p. 80.

² *Architecture civile et domestique, au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, par Aymar Verdier et par Dr. F. Cattois (first published in booklet form, 1852, and in book form in 1858, at Paris); Vol. I, pp. 17-26.

violin, another a harp, and a fifth some instrument which time has destroyed.³

But these five statues of musicians do not constitute the entire decoration of the façade. Each statue is supported by a stone bracket mounted on the back and shoulders of a human figure in stone. Many other heads or busts are scattered about the façade. At the two feet of each arch enclosing the statues are stone human heads, all different. At the apex of each arch is another head—human, or bull, or grotesque. In the frieze of small stone arches running above the musicians are several other stone heads, human or grotesque. And at least three grotesque heads appear on the instruments being played by the musicians.

The entire façade reminds one immediately and irresistibly of that passage in Chaucer's *House of Fame* which describes the exterior of Fame's palace (ll. 1189-1266). This palace is "ful eke of wyndowes," and it has "sondry habitacles" (niches) containing "alle maner mynstralles." Beneath each of the principal harpers described is a lesser harper (reminding one of the human figures supporting the musicians of the House of the Musicians); and behind these major minstrels are many others (reminding one of the numerous small faces scattered all about the main figures of the House of the Musicians). Furthermore, Chaucer speaks of "babewynnes" (grotesques) and "imageries" about Fame's palace (reminding one of the human and grotesque heads on the façade of the House of the Musicians).

To be sure, Chaucer's description has "Many thousand tymes twelve" (l. 1216) minstrels in place of the twenty-odd figures on the House of the Musicians, and it involves many more types of instruments. Nevertheless, the picture of a house with niches containing major minstrels surrounded by a multitude of subsidiary figures, grotesque or human, is exactly the same basic picture as that afforded by the House of the Musicians—and not afforded, so far as I am aware, by any other building in the world.

The façade of this house is truly extraordinary. Verdier and Cattois say of it: "Sans doute on ne s'éloignerait point de la vérité, en disant que l'antiquité n'a rien produit de plus beau, de plus noble, de plus simple et de plus harmonique que cette œuvre d'ensemble. . . . Les têtes [des statues] sont d'une exquise finesse et de l'expression la

³ There is a local tradition that this figure held a falcon, not a musical instrument (see Verdier and Cattois, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

plus variée. L'artiste a su donner à toutes ses statues des poses d'un grand et large style; car toutes expriment merveilleusement l'action qu'elles ont à remplir dans ce concert si bien ordonné." These authors go on to speak of the statues containing "tant de beauté, de charme réel, de mouvement et de calme réunis."⁴

If Chaucer had ever seen this building, it is inconceivable that he could have forgotten it. But did he ever see it? Of course, no outright answer to this question is possible. The similarities, however, between the façades of Chaucer's House of Fame and the House of the Musicians are most striking and most suggestive.

Chaucer may have seen the House of the Musicians on one of his many diplomatic missions out of England. Or he may have seen it as a prisoner of the French early in 1360. The English army to which Chaucer belonged besieged Reims for over a month in December, 1359, and January, 1360.⁵ It is possible that Chaucer was captured during the siege (perhaps on some sortie by the French from the city), or that he was captured after the siege was raised, and brought back to Reims by his captors.

Emerson repeats the interesting and well-known fact that both Guillaume de Machaut and Eustace Deschamps (who were friends, if not relatives) were within the walls of Reims during the siege; and he adds: "Thus while Chaucer was to be a captive of the French, two French poets who most influenced him in later years were suffering hardship at the hands of Chaucer's king. Why may we not go one step further? Romance, if not history, would certainly bring the three more closely together under these unusual circumstances."⁶ Tradition may take us still another step. The work on the *Sites et Monuments* of France, referred to earlier in this paper, states flatly that the House of the Musicians "fut bâtie par le poète Guillaume de Machau."⁷ I do not know the authority for this statement, and it seems to be wrong. Nevertheless, it does indicate that Machaut (who was a noted musician in his time) was traditionally associated with this building.

Admittedly, all this is as unconvincing as it is tantalizing. Yet it makes a fascinating web of circumstantial evidence derived from widely separated independent sources, and all suggesting the same

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ "Chaucer's First Military Service," by Oliver Farrar Emerson, *The Romantic Review*, Vol. III (1912), p. 353.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 354, n. 114.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

conclusion. Even though this evidence cannot be wholly credited, it cannot be wholly ignored. The case is still open. Did Chaucer model the exterior of his House of Fame on the exterior of the House of Musicians in Reims? Was he in Reims when Machaut and Deschamps were there in 1359-60? Was Chaucer's captivity spent in Reims? Did he meet Machaut and Deschamps there?

The Rice Institute

GEORGE G. WILLIAMS

Spenser and *The Historie of Cambria*

Elizabethan scholars still accept the conclusions which Carrie A. Harper reaches in her monograph on *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*; and the general worth of her admirable study will not, I hope, appear to have been called in question if I attempt to correct and amplify what she has written about one of Spenser's sources.

In a stanza of Merlin's prophecy the poet summarizes an episode in the war between the Britons and the Saxons:

Whiles thus thy Britons do in languour pine,
Proud *Etheldred* shall from the North arise,
Seruing th'ambitious will of *Augustine*,
And passing *Dee* with hardy enterprise,
Shall backe repulse the valiaunt *Brockwell* twice,
And *Bangor* with massacred Martyrs fill;
But the third time shall rew his foolhardise:
For *Cadwan* pitying his peoples ill,
Shall stoutly him defeat, and thousand *Saxons* kill.¹

Miss Harper notes that the material in this stanza, unlike much of the early British history in *The Faerie Queene*, varies considerably from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and she concludes that Spenser's variations were probably derived from several sources, none of which can have supplied more than a part of the story: Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the *Brut Tysilio*, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, the "*Descr. of Cambria*, by Sir John Price," Humfrey Llwyd's *Breuiary of Britayne*, Grafton's *Abridgment and Chronicle*, and Stowe's *Annales*.² Only one of these

¹ F. Q. 3. 3. 35.

² Carrie A. Harper, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 154-8.

works, in fact, can have been Spenser's major source, the "*Descr. of Cambria, by Sir John Price*," which is really the introductory chapter of *The Historie of Cambria* (1584), that is, David Powell's edition of Humfrey Llwyd's English version of the now lost chronicle by Caradoc of Llancarfan, covering Welsh history from Cadwallader to the reign of Henry II and extended by Powell and others to that of Elizabeth. Since Miss Harper does not seem to have known the book at first hand, it may be well to examine the passage which Spenser must have used:

this *Brochwel Ysgithroc*, that is; long toothed, was chosen leader of such as met with *Adelred* alias *Ethelbertus Rex Cantiae*, and other Angles and Saxons, whom *Augustine* had mooued to make warre against the christian Brytaines, and these put *Brochwel* twise to flight, not farre from Chester, and cruellie slew a 1000. preests and monkes of *Bangor*, with a great number of laie bretheren of the same house, which liued by the labour of their hands, and were come barefooted and woolward to craue mercie and peace at the Saxons hands. . . . Then this *Brochwel* retired ouer Dee, hard by *Bangor*, and defended the Saxons the passage, till *Caduan* king of Northwales, *Meredyth* king of Southwales, and *Bledrus* or *Bletius* Prince of Cornewall, came to succour him, and gaue the Saxons a sore battell, and slew of them the number of a 1066. and put the rest to flight. After the which battell, *Caduan* was chosen king of Brytaine, and was cheefe ruler within the Ile.³

This passage accounts for every detail in the stanza from *The Faerie Queene* except "Proud *Etheldred* shall from the North arise" and perhaps "*Cadwan* pitting his peoples ill." In the second case, if "his" refers to Cadwan rather than Brockwell, Spenser may have forgotten that it was only after defeating the Saxons that Cadwan became King of Britain; but "his" may also refer to either Cadwan or Brockwell as a British leader from the first. "Proud *Etheldred*" is out of line with all the sources cited by Miss Harper except Grafton, who equates "*Etheldredus*" with "*Ethelfridus*," King of the North Saxons, and Spenser may rely on Grafton at this point; but he need not have gone further than *The Historie of Cambria*, where he must have found the rest of the story. "*Adelred*" is a variant of *Ethelred*, which was sometimes given in the form *Etheldred*;⁴ and in a later reference to the same episode the *Historie* corrects "*Adelred* alias *Ethelbertus Rex Cantiae*" to "*Ethelfred* king of Northumberland."⁵

³ *The Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584), sig. Avijr-v. The introductory chapter is separately paged from the body of the work; to avoid confusion I refer to signatures of the former and pages of the latter.

⁴ E.g., Robert Fabian, *The Chronicle* (London, 1559), I. 205; Samuel Daniel, *The Collection of the Historie of England* (London, 1618), pp. 14-5.

⁵ *Historie*, p. 23.

In any case, with or without Grafton, the *Historie* clearly provides the basic material of the stanza.

Spenser's familiarity with this work is revealed by other evidence. His Prince Arthur, as Millican has noted, was reared close to the headwaters of the Dee, in the very region where the *Historie* places the house of Gay, his foster brother.⁶ But more telling proof appears in the later stanzas of Merlin's prophecy, the passage already cited from *The Faerie Queene*. Here Spenser gives a concise summary of the reign of Cadwallader:

Then shall *Cadwallin* dye, and then the raine
Of *Britons* eke with him attonce shall dye;
Ne shall the good *Cadwallader* with paine,
Or powre, be hable it to remedy,
When the full time prefixt by destiny,
Shalbe expird of *Britons* regiment.
For heauen it selfe shall their successe enuy,
And them with plagues and murrins pestilent
Consume, till all their warlike puissaunce be spent.

Yet after all these sorrowes, and huge hills
Of dying people, during eight yeares space,
Cadwallader not yielding to his illls,
From *Armoricke*, where long in wretched cace
He liu'd, returning to his natiue place,
Shalbe by vision staid from his intent:
For th'heauens haue decreed, to displace
The *Britons*, for their sinnes dew punishment,
And to the *Saxons* ouer-giue their gouernment.⁷

Miss Harper believes that Geoffrey supplied most of this material, but since he writes that Cadwallader reigned for twelve years in peace before fleeing to Armorica, she cannot account for the prediction that the British rule will die as soon as Cadwallader succeeds Cadwallin.⁸ Spenser's error is explained, however, when we turn to the *Historie*, where the chapter on Cadwallader, omitting all reference to his twelve years' reign in peace, begins: "CADWALADER the last King of the *Brytaines*, descending from the noble race of the *Troianes*, by extreame plagues of death and famine, was driuen to forsake this his Realme and natiue Countrie, and to sojourne with a greate number

⁶ Charles Bowie Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 146; *F. Q.* 1. 9. 4. 5-9; *Historie*, sig. Avr.

⁷ *F. Q.* 3. 3. 40-1.

⁸ Harper, pp. 163-4. Nennius, whom she suggests as a possible source for the three lines of moralizing at the end, was not printed until 1691.

of his nobles and subiects with his cousen *Alan*, King of little *Brytaine*."⁹ The allusion to "the noble race of the *Troianes*" is apparently picked up by Spenser in the following stanza, where he mourns "The royall seed, the antique *Troian* blood."¹⁰ And his debt is clinched by the "eight yeares space" which Cadwallader will spend in Armorica, or Little Britain: while nothing about eight years occurs in Geoffrey, the *Historie* speaks of the "eight yeares" Cadwallader passed in Rome;¹¹ Spenser, with a characteristic laxity, transfers them to Armorica. Even if he remembers Geoffrey in these stanzas, then, we may be sure that he leans more heavily on the *Historie*.

Moreover, although the reign of Cadwallader brings Geoffrey's account to an end, Merlin prolongs his prophecy to include three of the later Welsh princes:

For *Rhodoricke*, whose surname shalbe Great,
Shall of him selfe a braue ensample shew,
That Saxon kings his friendship shall intreat;
And *Howell Dha* shall goodly well indew
The saluage minds with skill of iust and trew;
Then *Griffyth Conan* also shall vp reare
His dreaded head, and the old sparkes renew
Of natue courage, that his foes shall feare,
Least backe againe the kingdome he from them should beare.¹²

Miss Harper merely identifies Caradoc of Llancarfan as the ultimate source of this passage;¹³ and it should be added that Spenser undoubtedly read the English version of Caradoc in *The Historie of Cambria* and that, in a manner typical of his other antiquarian allusions, he muddles some of the material which he found there. To be sure, Howell Dha, whom Merlin praises for teaching "skill of iust and trew," is similarly represented by Caradoc and his editor Powell as the great law-giver of his people.¹⁴ But in the chapter on Roderick the *Historie* has nothing to say about the friendship which Merlin predicts that Roderick will win from Saxon kings; presumably,

⁹ *Historie*, p. 1. Cadwallader's vision is fully treated later on (pp. 3-5).

¹⁰ *F. Q.* 3. 3. 42. 8. Note also the opening lines of this stanza ("Then woe, and woe, and euerlasting woe, | Be to the Briton babe, that shalbe borne"), which echo a translation in the *Historie* (p. 254) of a Welsh poem ascribed to Ambrosius Telesinus: "*Wo be to that priest yborne . . . Wo be to . . . Wo be to . . .*"

¹¹ *Historie*, p. 5.

¹² *F. Q.* 3. 3. 45.

¹³ Harper, p. 181, where the stanza is misnumbered "48."

¹⁴ *Historie*, pp. 52-8.

the poet has failed to distinguish him from a predecessor named Roderick Molwynoc, who, according to the *Historie*, was temporarily allied with Cuthred, King of the West Saxons.¹⁵ In the same way Griffith ap Conan, while he is said to have reduced North Wales to quietness and ruled it worthily, is not described in the *Historie* as the heroic leader by whom Spenser tells us that his foes will be endangered in their rule; and Griffith ap Conan has probably been confused with the contemporary Welsh rebel Griffith ap Rhys, whose prowess was a constant threat to Henry I, or with the earlier Griffith ap Llewellyn, who made himself king of all Wales and repeatedly overcame the Saxons.¹⁶ In any case, the facts of which Spenser composed his errors were almost certainly derived from the *Historie*, the only systematic chronicle of Wales which had been published before 1590, when this portion of *The Faerie Queene* appeared.

How a copy of the *Historie* reached Spenser between 1584 and 1590 we can only guess. Since he was in Ireland from 1580 until 1589, it may very well have been sent to him there by some friend in England; and the identity of such a friend may somehow be connected with Powell's dedication of the *Historie* to Sir Philip Sidney, whose father, "the procurer and bringer" of that work to light, chose Powell as its editor.¹⁷ The Sidney circle, whatever the channel of its influence, would thus seem to be one of the factors which determined Spenser's enthusiastic interest in Welsh antiquities.

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RUDOLF B. GOTTFRIED

Another Possible Analogue for Swift's *Tale of a Tub*

John Dunton, the projector of the *Athenian Gazette*, has long been recognized as one of the butts of Swift's satire in *A Tale of a Tub*,¹

¹⁵ *Historie*, pp. 28-36, 15.

¹⁶ *Historie*, pp. 191, 175-90, 90-102.

¹⁷ *Historie*, sig. Iijv. To Sir Henry Sidney, Powell dedicated his edition of Ponticus Virunnius in 1585, and his editions of the *Itinerarium Cambriae* and *Cambriae Descriptio* of Giraldus Cambrensis, published in the same volume, to Sir Philip.

¹ Cf. for example, Ricardo Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1953), p. 33, and Miriam K. Starkman, *Swift's Satire on Learning in A Tale of a Tub* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 79-84. Dunton is mentioned by name in the Introduction to the *Tale* (p. 59 in the Guthkelch-Nichol Smith ed., Oxford, 1920). Samuel Wesley, father of John and Charles, and brother-in-

but the possibility that one of Dunton's rambling books may have provided an analogue for Swift's parody of Grub Street formlessness never seems to have been considered. Of course, as Mrs. Starkman notes, "It is the tendency, the composite of Modern writing that Swift parodies in his structure of *A Tale of a Tub*," but the specific examples of digressive structure which she cites (such as Burton, Dryden, and Bentley) are not very close to Swift's parody, and are, in fact, "learned" works, rather than Grub Street productions. Yet, it is her contention that the form of the *Tale* "is a sweeping parody . . . which is itself determined by the Grub Street formlessness that Swift intended to satirize through his structure."²

A Voyage Round the World, published in 1691 by the eccentric bookseller and author, John Dunton, represents the very essence of Grub Street.³ The *Voyage* is wildly digressive in its structure, though its formless form is obviously modelled, to some extent, on Burton's *Anatomy* and Urquhart's *Rabelais*. (In the introduction to his second volume, Dunton claimed that "Cervantes among the Spaniards was the first who wrote in this Drolling sort of Prose-Satyr.") The full title indicates the nature of the book: "A Voyage Round the World; or, a Pocket-Library, Divided into several Volumes. The First of which contains the Rare Adventures of Don Kainophilus, From his Cradle to his 15th Year. The like Discoveries in such a Method never made by any Rambler before. The whole work intermixt with Essays, Historical, Moral and Divine; and all other kinds of Learning. Done into English by a Lover of Travels. Recommended by the Wits of Both Universities." The book starts with an illustrated frontispiece followed by a poetical explanation, very much in the manner of Burton, and then launches into a whole series of "Panegyrick Verses, by the Wits of both Universities," including several poems in praise of rambling, a couple of "Epitaphs," a Pindaric, and an anagram of the author's name as "Hid Unto None," reminiscent of Rabelais'

law of Dunton, with whom he collaborated in the *Athenian Gazette*, is one of those slain by Homer in the *Battle of the Books* (p. 246, Guthkelch-Nichol Smith ed.).

²*Op. cit.*, pp. 108, 106. J. R. Moore's plausible suggestion (*Notes and Queries*, n.s., I (1954), 288-90) that John Ray's *Miscellaneous Discourses* was Swift's model for the organization of the *Tale*, provides yet another "learned" work as analogue.

³Having been so badly taken in by Dunton's pseudo-learned Athenian Society in 1691 that he composed a very bad ode in praise of it, Swift had good reason to dislike the eccentric bookseller. And it was, incidentally, with Dunton that the almanac-maker Partridge, famous butt of Swift's Bickerstaff pamphlets, lived when he fled to Holland after the accession of James (cf. Quintana, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

original anonymity. Finally Dunton comes to his Introduction, in the course of which he uses the same spider and bee analogy which Swift was to develop so effectively in the *Battle of the Books*:

I had forgot one Word, stay a little longer, and then some may *snotter* and *snuffle* at the many *Collections* they'll find in these my Labours, they'll call me *Owl*, *Jay*, *Cuckoo*, *Magpy*, and a hundred *Beasts of Birds* besides, for borrowing so many *Feathers* and gawdy plumes; — but they might, I'll tell them, learn more civility from an ingenious Person, who has styleth me rather a *Bee*, nay, a mellifluous *Bee*, or *Brother* to one who gathers *Sweets* and *Dainties* wherever he comes, without ever hurting the *pretty Pinks*, or tarnishing the fragrant *Roses*, and how ungrateful were that *rustick Boor*, and foolish withal, who would refuse the delicate present this his *little industrious Tenant* would make him forsooth, because he had stolen it from *other folks Gardens*, and not gathered it only out of *his own*, or as the *Spider*, spins his Thred drawn from his own *Bowels*: — No, the author thanks ye for that kindness, this were the way to *write his Guts out*, before he has *Rambled* to the end of his *four and twenty Globes*.⁴

After an "Impartial Character of a Rambler. By the Author of the Book," and "Evander's Character. The Author of these Rambles, Review'd by himself," the author finally comes to Chapter I: "Of my Rambles before I came into my Mother's Belly, and while I was there." There are eight such rambling chapters in Volume One, and in the final one Dunton feels that he must offer some apologies for his digressive manner.

... don't let the Reader trouble me with so many impertinent *Objections*, for that unavoidably leads a Man into *Digressions* from the main subject, and then these *Digressions* lead a man into further *Digressions*, for *Error is infinite*, and the longer you wander in a wrong Path, my Shoes to yours, the further you go from the right, if they are opposite to t'other: Not but that *Digressions* are so far from being always a fault, that they are indeed often pardonable, and sometimes, a *great Beauty* to any discourse — but then they

⁴P. 7. Dunton's use of the spider and the bee is interesting as a burlesque of Bacon's well-known ant-spider-bee analogy (*Novum Organum*, Bk. I, aphorism civ) to which Swift's use of the spider and bee has more than once been compared. Bacon, of course, likens the bee to the true philosopher, as compared to the spider who typifies the scholastic "reasoner," whereas Swift's spider symbolizes the Moderns, as opposed to the bee, who takes full cognizance of the Ancients. (Cf. R. F. Jones, "The Background of the *Battle of the Books*," *Washington University Studies*, VII, Humanistic Series No. 2 (1920), 159 n. 112; Herbert Davis, *The Satire of Jonathan Swift* (New York, 1947), p. 23; and Martin Price, *Swift's Rhetorical Art* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 3-5.) In his Apology (*Tale*, op. cit., pp. 12-13) Swift claims to be touched "in a very tender Point" by the charge that some of the *Tale* is not his own. "Of all Criticisms" he thought "that would never have been one." Dunton, of course, like his "bee," was a noted plagiarist — as were all Grub Streeters of his ilk.

must be well turn'd and managed, they must come in naturally and easily, and seem to be almost of a piece with the main Story, tho never so far distant from it — *I love a Digression*, I must confess with all my Heart, because 'tis so like a *Ramble* —.⁵

Volume Two contains the "Rare Adventures of Don Kainophilus, During his Seven Years Prenticeship," and also "particular Remarks on the most noted Booksellers, Authors and Poets, In the City of London." After an Advertisement there is a Preface addressed to The Booksellers of London, in which Dunton notes that "The proper *End* of Satyr is to correct Vice, the abuse on't to expose Virtue under that Name and Dress." He concludes the preface by saying, "*I have only to let you know*, that besides the Satyr here and there scatter'd in these Books, there are many things which *want a Key*, and are like to do so, for they were not writ for *every Body*, tho there's enough intelligible to entertain the World with a great deal of Diversion."⁶ There follow more Panegyrick Verses, another anagram, a "Poetical Dialogue between the Author of these Rambles and the discourteous Reader," another Pindaric, and so on.

The first chapter of this volume is headed "The Explanation of the First Book of these Rambles, and the Design of the whole. Some foolish Objections Answer'd." In it Dunton undertakes that

He'll prove as much, beyond contradiction, That 'tis a true actual *Voyage round the World*, ev'ry Word and Paragraph therein as Authentick as the renowned *Mandevil*, and as Moral as the famous History of *Reynard the Fox*; or the last Edition of the same Book disguised under the Title of the *Hind and the Panther*. And that in all these Heads, the Design is carried on constantly, the Method not confused, though somewhat Cryptical, and requiring a little study to crack the Shell, and get out the Kernel.⁷

And a little later on he describes the very sort of rôle which Swift, as author, was to play so often:

. . . 'tis so pleasant, so diverting, so tickling, and all that to those who do but understand the *whim* on't. To see a Man describ'd and not describ'd, playing *Bo-peep* with the World, and hiding himself behind his Fingers; like *Merry Andrew*, clapping his Conjuring-Cap on, and then crying, *Who sees me now?* — thrusting his Head into a Bush, and like a cunning sort of a Bird that comes

⁵ Vol. I, p. 142. This is, of course, reminiscent of Swift's "Digression in Praise of Digressions."

⁶ Cf. *Tale*, *op. cit.*, p. 29, "The Bookseller to the Reader": "If any Gentleman will please to furnish me with a Key, in order to explain the more difficult Parts, I shall very gratefully acknowledge the Favour, and print it by it self."

⁷ Vol. II, p. 5. Both *Reynard the Fox* and the *Hind and the Panther* are alluded to in the Introduction to the *Tale* (*op. cit.*, pp. 67, 69).

from the Moon (whither he is to take a *Voyage* in one of these odd Books) and then defying all the World (as *Pembroke* did) to know him by his t'other end. I say, to see this ingenious Author as close under the name of *Kainophilus*, as *Achates* and *Aeneas* in the Cloak of *Venus*, seeing every Body, and hearing what Folks say and censure of him, and none seeing or hearing him. What in the World can be a more pleasant Spectacle, or better deserving the Motto over the door where this monstrous sight is to be seen, — *Spectatum admisi risum teneatis amice?*⁸

And so the digressive chapters go on. At the end of chapter one there is an advertisement of ten posthumous manuscripts of John Bunyan, and at the end of the second volume there is a list of books lately printed, including the first two volumes of the *Voyage*. In the first chapter of the third volume, Dunton reaffirms that his "Subject is *Rambling*, and therefore is it that I suffer the least sudden Thought or extravagant Fancy to lead me *ten, twenty, nay sometimes an hundred Pages out of my way*," and he confesses that "I have got such a trick of making *Digressions*, that I find it is hardly possible for me to hold long to a Point." But he is evidently running short of material, and has to pad out this volume with a series of letters.

Dunton's *Voyage* has been deemed noteworthy heretofore mainly as a possible source of some of Sterne's eccentricities in *Tristram Shandy*,⁹ though many of the similarities between the two books may be due to the fact that they shared common models: Cervantes, Rabelais, Burton. Swift's *Tale* has also been cited as a possible Sternean source, as have such imitations of the *Tale* as *An Essay towards the Theory of the Intelligible World* by "Gabriel John." Dunton's *Voyage* does, however, provide an example *par excellence* of the very Grub Street formlessness which Swift himself claimed to be, in part, satirizing in the *Tale*.¹⁰ In view of his embarrassing experi-

⁸ Vol. II, p. 7.

⁹ Interestingly enough, it does not seem to have been noted that one of Sterne's "imitators" used large portions of Dunton's book. In 1761 appeared *The Life, Travels, and Adventures of Christopher Wagstaffe, Gentleman, Grandfather to TRISTRAM SHANDY*, in which the anonymous author claimed to be reprinting Sterne's "source." The "source," unacknowledged, was Dunton, sprinkled with one or two emendations.

¹⁰ Dunton, himself, certainly provides a model for the rôle of *ingénu* "who egregiously identifies himself with the very abuses that Swift is attacking," posited by Robert C. Elliott, ("Swift's *Tale of a Tub*: An Essay in Problems of Structure," *PMLA*, LXVI (June, 1951), 443), though, as William Bragg Ewald, Jr., points out (*The Masks of Jonathan Swift* (Oxford, 1954), p. 23) "Much of the brilliance of the *Tale* is due to the way in which the author shifts quickly from resembling one writer to resembling another." However, the basic mask which Swift adopts is that of a "Grub Street hack who admires faulty logic, mechanical systems, and dark unintelligible mystery," and for

ence of Dunton's pseudo-pedantry, it seems very possible that Swift had it in mind when he was at work on his *Tale*. And, in fact, perhaps it is not outside the bounds of possibility that Dunton's title, so little justified by the actual contents of his book, may even have played some small part in suggesting to Swift the idea of the voyages of Lemuel Gulliver.

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J. M. STEDMOND

Symbolic Meaning in Blake's "Nine Years"

In Night the First of Blake's *Four Zoas* there is a rather curious and symbolically significant passage about Los and Enitharmon, the mythical representatives of time and space. After wandering "among the forests" (of materialism), they emerged and

. . . sat down upon the margin'd sea,
Conversing with the visions of Beulah
in dark slumbrous bliss.
Nine years they view the living spheres,
Reading the Visions of Beulah.¹

The "margin'd sea" is one of Blake's frequently used symbols for earthly existence, and the "Visions of Beulah" (symbolizing the moon) are apparently all that fallen beings can see of the visions of eternity (symbolized by the sun).

But the significance of the "nine years" is more puzzling.² It is explained, I believe, by a footnote in Thomas Taylor's translation of Plato's *Phaedrus*, which appeared in 1792, some three years before Blake began the *Four Zoas*. In a quotation from Proclus, Taylor proposes to prove that the Homeric poems conceal "divine truth under the symbols of fable":

this *persona* Swift could scarcely have found a more suggestive original than John Dunton.

¹ *Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 3rd ed. (New York and London, 1932), p. 287.

² S. Foster Damon's note (*William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, p. 367) that "according to Swedenborg, nine signifies conjunction" does not explain Blake's meaning. Sloss and Wallis make no comment, and Yeats and Ellis simply omit the line.

But fables, in my opinion, intend to signify by Helen all the beauty subsisting about generation, for which there is a perpetual battle of souls, till the more intellectual, having vanquished the more irrational forms of life, return to that place from which they originally came. But, according to some, the period of their circulation about sensible forms consists of ten thousand years, since a thousand years produce one ambit as of one year. For nine years therefore, i.e. for nine thousand years, souls revolve about generation; but in the tenth having vanquished all the barbaric tumult, they are related to return to their paternal habitations.²

A few pages farther, as Socrates is concluding his discourse on love, he remarks that the soul will "wander for nine thousand years with a rolling motion upon and under the earth" (pp. 83-84). But Taylor is careful to warn us that "Plato employs these numbers as symbols of the purgation of the soul, and her restitution to her proper perfection and felicity. I say, as symbols; for we must not suppose that this is accomplished in just so many years, but that the soul's restitution takes place in a perfect manner" (p. 65).

Believing with Taylor that "the present life is a state of punishment," Blake accepted his symbolic explanation of the traditionally accepted ten years of the Trojan war to present his own mythical concept of the duration of this world of generation until fallen man "reassumes his ancient bliss" in the "Resurrection to Unity" in the world of eternity.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE MILLS HARPER

Ezra Pound's Appraisal of Walt Whitman

In an essay written in 1909 but not published until recently, Ezra Pound displayed a considerable knowledge and appreciation of the writings of Walt Whitman.¹ At that time he thought that he and Whitman had much in common and that he was perhaps one of the American "poets to come" whom Whitman had prophesied. Within a few years, however, Pound's interest in Whitman waned, and his

² Thomas Taylor, trans., *Plato's Phaedrus* (London, 1792), p. 49.

¹ Ezra Pound, "What I feel about Walt Whitman," ms. in the Yale University Library, signed and dated Feb. 1, 1909; quoted by permission of Yale University Library. The article has been published by Herbert Bergman in *American Literature*, March, 1955.

appraisal of the poet of *Leaves of Grass* was tempered by his growing repugnance for America.

We know rather well what Pound thought of Whitman. From 1909 to 1948 frequent references to the earlier poet occur in Pound's essays, letters, and poems. The comments are often valuable in illuminating Whitman's special contribution to the development of writing technique and his significance as a spokesman for America. They also reveal the extent Pound's feelings towards America affected his judgment of American life and literature.

During the years covered by Pound's comments, Whitman's reputation became established. All critics of American letters took cognizance of his work, and many praised him as the greatest poet yet to appear in America. More importantly so far as Pound is concerned, critics of the New Poetry of 1912 and after saw in Whitman the father of the "newness" in this verse and named him as the main influence in this revival of poetic activity. Much of the talk about Whitman in the early years originated and spread among European writers in whose work Pound was interested. Many of the French symbolists knew Whitman's work; some, like Merrill, Laforgue, and Vielé-Griffin, were open admirers and translators, if not imitators. Wherever Pound went in his European journeyings, he found people who knew and admired Whitman. Rhys had edited him. Joyce was to quote him in the first twenty pages of *Ulysses*. Years later in *The Pisan Cantos* Pound recalled this European reception:

Till forty years since, Reithmuller indignant:
"Fvy! in Tdaenmarck efen dh'beasantz gnow him,"
 meaning Whitman, exotic, still suspect four
 miles from Camden.²

It is to Pound's credit as a critic that as early as 1909 he saw Whitman as America's poet, a genius, a great beginning of a tremendous native literature, an influence which was soon to be felt in his own work and in that of many of the other New Poets. "Whitman is to my fatherland . . .," he wrote, "what Dante is to Italy. . . . Like Dante he wrote in the 'vulgar tongue,' in a new metric, the first man to write in the language of his people."³ More than this, he was America's first great literary spokesman, one who was able to identify himself almost completely with his country. "Whitman was not an artist, but a reflex, the first honest reflex in an

² Ezra Pound, *The Pisan Cantos* (New York, 1948), pp. 103-104.

³ The 1909 essay.

age of papier-mache letters. He was the time and the people."⁴ Unfortunately this identification meant a sacrifice of certain old-world standards which lowered him in Pound's estimation. To echo his time and his country so completely was an indication of genius, but unhappily the country left much to be desired in itself and in its echo:

He is America. His crudity is an exceeding great stench, but it is America. He is the hollow place in the rock that echos with his time. He *does* "chant the crucial stage" and he is the "voice triumphant." He is disgusting. He is an exceedingly nauseating pill, but he accomplishes his mission . . . he is content to be what he is, and he is his time and his people. He is a genius because he has vision of what he is and of his function. He knows that he is a beginning and not a classically finished work.⁵

America was thus, even then, an obsession with Pound; "Patriam quam odi et amo for no uncertain reasons," he interpolated in the 1909 essay, quite gratuitously.

Pound never publicly accorded Whitman the tribute he lavished on those Americans of merit who had shown a preference for life in Europe, notably Whistler, Henry James, and T. S. Eliot. Whistler, "American," he wrote of as "our first great," praising his experimentation which Pound duplicated in verse. In his poem of tribute to Whistler, he found only two Americans worthy of mention:

You and Abe Lincoln from that mass of dolts
Show us there's chance at least of winning through.⁶

This poem, which appeared in *Poetry* in 1912, was apparently written before Pound had read James extensively. It also predated his awareness of the poetry of Eliot whom he first met in 1915. It was written, however, at a time when he knew Whitman thoroughly and when he was still conscious of his influence. His failure to mention Whitman (whom he had already thought of as America's "first great") was certainly deliberate. Whistler had escaped the blight on his art, as James, Eliot, and Pound himself were to do—by fleeing from America. Moreover, having escaped, Whistler proved, as Whitman had failed to do, "that being born an American does not eternally damn a man or prevent him from the ultimate and highest achievement in the

⁴ Ezra Pound, *Patria Mia* (Chicago, 1950), p. 38. The essay was offered for publication in 1913.

⁵ The 1909 essay. In this and other quotations Pound's spelling has not been changed.

⁶ Ezra Pound, "To Whistler, American," *Personae* (New York, 1951?), p. 235.

arts."⁷ He, not Whitman, had thus become, with Abraham Lincoln, "the beginning of our great tradition."

Incidentally Pound saw in Whitman's identification of himself with America one of the reasons his reputation in America had lagged behind his world fame.

He was so near the national colour [he wrote] that the nation hardly perceived him against that background. . . .

Whitman established the national *timbre*. One may not need him at home. It is in the air, this tonic of his. But if one is abroad; if one is ever likely to forget one's birth-right, to lose faith, being surrounded by disparagers, one can find, in Whitman, the reassurance. Whitman goes bail for the nation.⁸

This statement also emphasizes the peculiar value American expatriates find in Whitman's poetry and suggests an explanation of Henry James's appreciation of Whitman in his later years as well as Eliot's change in attitude. *The Pisan Cantos* attest that Pound himself thought frequently of Whitman and the *Leaves* during his last months abroad.

Pound found in Whitman an inescapable but perplexing force in American letters. "Whitman is a hard nut," he wrote to his father in 1913. "The *Leaves of Grass* is the book. It is impossible to read it without swearing at the author almost continuously. Begin on the 'Songs of Parting'—perhaps on the last one which is called 'So Long!', that has I suppose nearly all of him in it."⁹ Pound could see the total effect of the book in reflecting mid-century America, and he could recognize particular poems as fine; but there was too much in the book that was wrong. Although he saw the reason for Whitman's crudity, he himself was too completely immersed in aestheticism to accept it. He knew that Whitman's "'Yawp' was respected from Denmark to Bengal"; but, he felt, "we can't stop with the 'Yawp'; we have no longer any excuse for not taking up the complete art."¹⁰ Despite himself, however, Pound could not speak with complete assurance in discrediting Whitman as an artist. "Whitman was not an artist," he wrote in 1910 and reiterated later, explaining, "you cannot call a man an artist until he shows himself capable of reticence and restraint, until he shows himself in some degree master of

⁷ *Patria Mia*, p. 51.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Letter to H. L. Pound, June 3, 1913. D. D. Paige, *The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941* (New York, 1950), p. 21.

¹⁰ Letter to Harriet Monroe, Oct. 13, 1912. Paige, p. 11.

the forces which beat upon him."¹¹ "And yet," he had to confess, "if a man has written lines like Whitman's to the 'Sunset Breeze' one has to love him. I think we have not yet paid enough attention to the deliberate artistry of the man, not in details but in the large."¹²

Pound quarreled with Whitman's attempt to embrace the universe and eternity in his verse. In his first prose book, *The Spirit of Romance*, published in 1910, he observed that the "Uncouth American" was noted for "modern 'pantheism,' or some such thing."¹³ For him, Whitman's cosmic sense was fake. "Damn the infinities, and the unendings, and the eternals!" he wrote to Harriet Monroe in 1912. "Mistrust any poet using the word cosmic."¹⁴ He compared Whitman's and Dante's attempts to give expression to their sense of cosmic consciousness, citing the first canto of the *Paradiso* to show that Dante was more "convincing." "Whitman, with all his catalogues and flounderings," he wrote, "has never so perfectly expressed the perception of Cosmic Consciousness as does Dante in the canto just quoted."¹⁵

In a similar comparison of Whitman and Villon, Pound deplored another of Whitman's weaknesses—"that horrible air of rectitude with which Whitman rejoices in being Whitman . . . [pretending] to be conferring a philanthropic benefit on the race by recording his own self-complacency."¹⁶ It is in this context that the well-known watermelon parody occurs, written only a year after Pound had spoken of Whitman as the voice of America expressing the very message he himself sought to convey. The parody, based on the story of Whitman and Doyle's sharing a watermelon on a Washington sidewalk indifferent to passers-by, is inept for Pound:

Whitman is the voice of one who saith:

"Lo, behold, I eat water melons. When I eat water melons
the world eats water melons through me.

When the world eats water melons

I partake of the world's water melons.

The bugs,

The worms,

The negroes, etc.

Eat water melons;

¹¹ *Patria Mia*, p. 47.

¹² The 1909 essay.

¹³ Ezra Pound, *The Spirit of Romance* (London, 1910), p. 163.

¹⁴ Harriet Monroe, *A Poet's Life* (New York, 1938), p. 266.

¹⁵ *The Spirit of Romance*, p. 163.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

All nature eats water melons.
Those eidolons and particles of the Cosmos
Which do not now partake of water melons
Will at some future time partake of water melons
Praised be Allah! ”¹⁷

The parody is another indication of Pound's interest in Whitman during these early years and of the difficulty he was having in trying to assess him. At least he felt that the American poet was worthy to stand comparison with the greatest world writers.

The sex emphasis in *Leaves of Grass* also bothered Pound. America must learn, he wrote, to reverence something “a cut above—‘I hear America a-singing’

‘Fat, sleek, contented with emotions well
Below the diaphragm.’ ”¹⁸

In his poem “The Condolence,” Pound complained that his own early poems were praised as “virile”:

We are compared to that sort of person
Who wanders about announcing his sex
As if he had just discovered it.¹⁹

Occurring in the Whitmanesque *Lustra* poems, these lines seem certainly to refer to Whitman.

Despite these various qualifications, Pound readily admitted in his early writings that Whitman was the best poet America had produced. “I see him America's poet,” he wrote, “the only Poet before the artists of the Carmen-Hovey period, or better, the only one of the conventionally recognized ‘American Poets’ who is worth reading.”²⁰ The only other American poet he thought worthy of mention was Poe, “a good enough poet, and after Whitman the best America has produced (probably?).”²¹ Even the new poets had yet to surpass him. He reviewed Frost's second book “with perhaps a discretion that will do him more good than pretending that he is greater than Whitman.”²² In the Byronic satire on American hypocrisy and shallowness, “L'Homme Moyen Sensuel,” Pound lamented that his hero Radway's shaping influences had not included

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁸ *Patria Mia*, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Personae*, p. 82.

²⁰ The 1909 essay.

²¹ Letter to Harriet Monroe, Jan. 31, 1915. Paige, p. 50.

²² Letter to the Editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*. Paige, p. 62.

Poe, Whitman, and Whistler, men whose "recognition was got abroad." In these early years at least, he felt that Whitman might help a younger man, especially a writer (a value he elsewhere specifically denies to Poe: "He is a damn bad model.").²³

For a few years after 1909 Pound was much concerned with Whitman, as the above references from that period indicate. After this early critical wrestling, Pound referred to Whitman less often; but when he did, it was either to point out that Whitman is after all one of the American "greats" or to wonder how so weak an artist could have succeeded so well. In his *ABC of Reading* in 1934, Pound summed up concisely his mature view of Whitman. It is a view not much different from that of his earliest comment in 1909, though expressed more succinctly. The book, an elaboration and extension of *How to Read* (1931), is a reading guide for young writers and others interested in the technique of written expression, especially poetry. Pound selects those writers who have made a contribution to the art of writing and lists a "Sequence of authors through whom the metamorphosis of English verse writing may be traced."²⁴ There are only twenty-four names in the list; but Whitman's is among them—the only American name. Pound comments on Whitman in his discussion of this list:

From an examination of Walt made twelve years ago the present writer carried away the impression that there are thirty well-written pages of Whitman; he is now unable to find them. Whitman's faults are superficial, he does convey an image of his time, he has written *histoire morale*, as Montaigne wrote the history of his epoch. You can learn more of 19th-century America from Whitman than from any of the writers who either refrained from perceiving, or limited their record to what they had been taught to consider suitable literary expression. The only way to enjoy Whitman thoroughly is to concentrate on his fundamental meaning. If you insist, however, on dissecting his language you will probably find that it is wrong NOT because he broke all of what were considered in his day "the rules" but because he is spasmodically conforming to this, that or the other; sporadically dragging in a bit of "regular" metre, using a bit of literary language, and putting his adjectives where, in the spoken tongue, they are not. His real writing occurs when he gets free of all this barbed wire.²⁵

Earlier in the book, under "Study," Pound had raised the question: "How much of Walt is well written?"²⁶ The thirty pages had been

²³ Letter to Harriet Monroe, Jan. 31, 1915. Paige, p. 50.

²⁴ Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading* (London, 1934), p. 160.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

an early estimate of the amount of good writing needed to save an author from oblivion. "Thirty real pages are enough for any of us to leave," he had written encouragingly to William Carlos Williams in 1913. "There is scarce more of Catullus or Villon."²⁷ Still earlier he had advised Harriet Monroe, "If a man writes six good lines he is immortal."²⁸ By 1934 Pound obviously felt the pages of Whitman's real writing had shrunk to fewer than thirty, but that he had evaded the barbed wire often enough to qualify for the list of immortals. It is worth noting that Pound's chief objection to Whitman's poetry is one of technique; Whitman's portrayal of America and his fundamental meaning he still admires. And the manner in which Whitman crops up in *The Pisan Cantos*, in which so many of the names that have been significant to Pound appear, indicates that even in his old age and suffering he recalls Whitman as one of the few American forces for good.

Southern Illinois University

CHARLES B. WILLARD

The Journey Motif in Whitman and Tennyson

Walt Whitman's "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" (first published in 1865) contains several verbal echoes of Alfred Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses" (1842), indicating, with reasonable certainty, a direct borrowing by Whitman. The most obvious of these parallels might be quoted:¹

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| a. Come my tan-faced children, . . . | "Pioneers!" (1) |
| Come, my friends, . . . | "Ulysses" (56) |
| b. Follow well in order, get your weapons ready . . . | "Pioneers!" (1) |
| Push off, and sitting well in order smite | |
| The sounding furrows . . . | "Ulysses" (58-59) |
| c. For we cannot tarry here . . . | "Pioneers!" (2) |
| I cannot rest from travel . . . | "Ulysses" (6) |
| d. We debouch upon a newer mightier world . . . | "Pioneers!" (5) |
| 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world. | "Ulysses" (57) |

²⁷ Letter to William Carlos Williams, Dec. 19, 1913. Paige, p. 28.

²⁸ Monroe, p. 265.

¹ Passages from "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" are identified by stanza number; those from "Ulysses" are by line.

e. . . . we must never yield or falter . . .

"Pioneers!" (12)

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

"Ulysses" (70)

f. Do the feasters gluttonous feast?

Do the corpulent sleepers sleep? have they
lock'd and bolted doors?

"Pioneers!" (24)

. . . I mete and dole

Unequal laws unto a savage race,

That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know
not me.

"Ulysses" (3-5)

In addition, there are parallels in thought (e.g., that death may overtake the travelers before the journey is complete and that the travelers are questing for a higher and more heroic life).

There is no questioning Whitman's familiarity with Tennyson's poem; his friend Bucke recalls Whitman's reciting it.² The journey motif in Tennyson's poem might well have recalled the poem to Whitman at the time of his composition of "Pioneers!," also a journey poem; certain parallel phrasings were perhaps inevitable.

One further parallel might also be noted. Tennyson's line "I am a part of all that I have met" (line 18) suggests the theme of "There Was a Child Went Forth" (1855), which contains several statements that the objects beheld by the child "became part of him" and that "he became" the objects.

San Jose State College

ROBERT H. WOODWARD

Time and the Unnamed Article in *The Ambassadors*

Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit.

By and by it will strike.

(*The Tempest*)

In MLN for January of 1955 Miss Patricia Evans risked the bright guess that the unnamed article produced at Woollett is a safety-match, and Mr. E. M. Forster in *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) put forth the whimsical notion of button-hooks! Mr. Forster ribs James for not telling us what the article is, and he injects a criticism of the

² R. M. Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 53. For further evidence of Whitman's knowledge and admiration of "Ulysses" see Herbert Bergman, "Whitman and Tennyson," *SP*, LI (July 1954), 498.

Jamesian novel: "for James to indicate how his characters made their pile—it would not do." In *The American*, to cite one example to the contrary, James is not squeamish about disclosing even such a vulgar object as a bathtub—on bathtubs and copper Christopher Newman made his pile. Though "vulgar" it is, *that* is not the reason why James conceals the identity of the article manufactured at Woollett.

That James planned it to be a "distinctly vulgar article of domestic use (to be duly specified)" we know from the scenario-manuscript preserved in *The Notebooks of Henry James* (1947); but James changed his mind about it and in the novel he intrudes to declare his intention at the start not to disclose it: "it may even now frankly be mentioned that he [Strether], in the sequel, never *was* to tell her" (Chap. IV). If the article were nothing more than safety-matches or button-hooks there would be no purpose in having Strether so reluctant to name the Woollett product, no purpose in James's making such a mystery about it. Miss Gostrey guesses it's "Clothespins? Saleratus? Shoe-polish?" No, says Strether. "No, you don't even 'burn.' I don't think, you know, you'll guess it" (IV).

Why, asks Miss Evans, was James so reluctant to name it? The answer, as I see it, is that his deliberate intention not to name it was solely for artistic reasons. The riddle about the nameless object opens the novel (in Chapter IV, the first three chapters figuring as the Prologue) and closes it. That he has used the thing as a riddle hints at its importance—its thematic importance. The identity of "the little nameless object" informs the meaning of the whole novel—it correlates with the dominant theme, promotes it, concludes it. A mystery is made of it filling the entire time-span of the novel; and yet, though *The Ambassadors* has elicited many careful readings, the Woollett riddle has yet to be unriddled. Ambiguity is the Jamesian aesthetic, though here he perhaps overplayed his hand. But to resolve ambiguities is the critic's function! James was given to playing tricks on his critics and readers (notably in *The Turn of the Screw*: "a piece of ingenuity pure and simple," he admits in the later preface, "of cold artistic calculation, an *amusette* to catch those not easily caught"), exploding duds and setting traps. But in *The Ambassadors* he misleads us for a purpose, not merely to trick us; and it is unthinkable to suppose that James—addicted to the Significance of the Thing, the symbolic import of minute particulars—conceived the Woollett article as a thing of no symbolic import.

The Woollett Question remains unanswered in the novel for the reason that to name it would constitute a spoiling of the motif of questioning, the very motif which opens the novel and closes it. I suppose there are other reasons as well, including also the law of the artist "which somehow always makes the minimum of valid suggestion serve the man of imagination better than the maximum" (Preface to *The Aspern Papers*). Strether's double consciousness—the whole novel—is riddled by questions, bafflements, indecisions, doubts. His very quest involves a question. *The Ambassadors* begins on a question—"Strether's first question" forms the opening phrase of the novel—and it ends on one. At the end of the Prologue (Chap. III) there's the question as to what Waymarsh purchases in the jeweller's shop? "Then how will that jeweller help him?" asks Miss Gostrey. Strether doesn't divulge the secret, though he seems to know the answer: "*Strether seemed to make it out, from their standpoint, between the interstices of arrayed watches. 'You'll see' (Chap. III—my italics).*" What Waymarsh has purchased is, I presume, a clock ("He has *struck* for freedom").

The recurrent imagery, phrasings, and leitmotifs dominant in *The Ambassadors* have to do with time and timepieces—watches or clocks. Time is the all-consuming theme of the novel. The quest of Strether has to do with time—how to live it. Timing the return of Chad Newsome—that is Strether's mission. He must bring Chad back from Paris to Woollett *on time*—"He can come into the business now—he can't come later" (Chap. IV). It's a "bouncing business," "a roaring trade," and what the unnamed article is symbolizes America and "the hum of vain things"—it represents a way of life the opposite of Europe's. The fleeting hour escapes Strether because he's in the toils of Woollett, committed to Mrs. Newsome and the compulsion of clock-time. The pendulum of his mind swings alternately from Paris back to Woollett, so that we are never in Paris without Woollett impinging itself upon the Parisian scene in the figure of Mrs. Newsome or in the image of a clock.¹ In the garden of the Tuileries, for instance, "He watched little brisk figures, figures whose movement was as the tick of the great Paris clock, take their smooth diagonal from point to point . . ." (Chap. V). Strether's way of keeping "an eye on the fleeting hour" is by watching the clock. When the Blue

¹ James's device of Double Vision, the point I am touching on here, forms the substance of my analysis of the novel, in "The Sacred Rage"—Time in *The Ambassadors*, an as yet unpublished essay.

Message from Mrs. Newsome, the cabled ultimatum reaches him, Strether secures the paper from being blown out the window "by the superincumbent weight of his watch" (Chap. XVII). Mrs. Newsome, hovering over Strether's double consciousness, obstructs his enjoyment of the fleeting hour. At the theatre with Miss Gostrey (Chap. IV) what blocks his enjoyment of the play is the recollected image of the Newsome factory—it overlays the stage precisely when Miss Gostrey reverts to that key topic: "And what is the article produced?" "I'll tell you *next time*," Strether procrastinates. It's 'a small, trivial, rather ridiculous object of the commonest domestic use, it's rather wanting in—what shall I say? Well, dignity, or the least approach to distinction."

A timepiece lacks distinction; it is of no true significance inasmuch as true time cannot be fixed or measured; hence it is "trivial." What is pretentious is "ridiculous"—time, being unknowable, cannot be known even when clocked. It is time itself that Strether has failed to face into (except under Miss Gostrey's tutelage), and that is why he has misgivings about naming the Woollett product and is reluctant to identify it—"It's vulgar." "Unmentionable? Oh no, we constantly talk of it; we are quite familiar and brazen about it" (Chap. IV). What we constantly talk about is time, and *The Ambassadors* talks about it on almost every other page. Time is what Strether cannot help thinking about, though his experience of Europe constitutes for him a lesson in how not to think about it.

The Woollett Question occurs first of all *at an intermission* of the London play, during a halt in the drama, when Strether and Maria are brought back to realities from an imagined world of suspended time. As Strether postpones about the riddle, so too he cannot bring himself round to realities, to come to terms with time. He is reluctant to live time except by the clock, and always he is trying to catch up with it. At the end of the novel Miss Gostrey reminds him "of his having never yet named to her the article produced at Woollett. 'Do you remember our talking of it in London—that night at the play?'" (Chap. XXXVI) The Woollett Question is immediately followed by the image of a clock: "He found on the spot the image of his recent history; he was like one of the figures of the old clock at Berne. They came out, on one side, at their hour, jigged along their little course in the public eye, and went in on the other side. He too had jigged his little course—him too a modest retreat awaited." Then immediately following this identification of Strether with a clock

comes Strether's offer "to name the great product of Woollett. *It would be a great commentary on everything*" (italics mine).

As Woollett and Mrs. Newsome represent the "great commentary" on Paris, on everything Strether experiences in Europe, it follows that what the Newsomes produce at Woollett manifests the "great commentary"—time. As time is the great commentary on everything, including what Woollett produces, the unnamed article must be a thing of appropriate fitness. It is—or ought to be—a clock, an article which symbolically elicits the time-theme of *The Ambassadors*. For nothing is without inter-relationship in the novel, all-things-in-relationship being the keystone of the Jamesian canon.

As for safety-matches or button-hooks, what have these items to do with what the novel is really all about? All that Miss Evans offers in support of her notion of safety-matches is a single image, an isolated instance—the image of Sarah Pocock's "thin-lipped smile, intense without brightness and as prompt to act as the scrape of a safety match." What characterizes Sarah Pocock, however, is not her smile; it is rather her time-sense—for Sarah "there's only to-morrow." /

An alarm-clock fulfills all the specifications of Strether's riddle—it rings, as it were, in Strether's noisy epithets: the Newsomes run a "bouncing business. A roaring trade." And what they produce, though a small thing, trivial and vulgar, is nevertheless "great." The only country other than France that the Pococks visit while in Europe is, fittingly enough, Switzerland, the clock-manufacturing-center of the world. Back home, however, the Newsomes make it "better, it appears, than other people can, or than other people, at any rate, do. Mr. Newsome, being a man of ideas, at least in that particular line . . . gave the place altogether *in his time*, an immense lift" (italics mine). The idea of time, like the mysterious article, "if it's only properly looked after, may well be on the way to become a monopoly" (Chap. IV). To make it a monopoly it needs some advertising, and Chad Newsome declares in his final interview with Strether his intention of returning to Woollett and entering the advertising end of the roaring trade. In "our roaring age," as Strether admits, "Advertising is clearly, at this time of day, the secret of trade." As Chad says: "The right man must take hold. With the right man to work it *c'est un monde*." Chad knows the world, knows how to live its fleeting hour, and he's the right man to take hold of Woollett's business—not to tamper with the clock, but rather to advertise it. Having clocks in mind perhaps, Chad con-

cludes: "To wind up where we began. My interest's purely platonic" (Chap. XXXV).

"It's a false note?" Miss Gostrey had suggested, and Strether reluctantly confessed: "Sadly. It's vulgar" (Chap. IV). A false note is what alarm-clocks ring and signify. And that is precisely what Chad knows from his experience of Europe, where life ignores the clock.

At Worcester, Massachusetts (the Woollett of the novel), clocks were manufactured in James's day, both prior to the turn of the century and after. (What the unnamed article is, however, must be established from evidence within the novel itself.) Perhaps that is as much of a coincidence as the fact that *The Ambassadors* has twelve divisions, and—let's face it—so has a clock!

University of Connecticut

R. W. STALLMAN

Nostromo and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro"

The usual Hemingway story or novel has a stylistic texture that seems simple, unambiguous, and realistic but that has a subsuming pattern of complexity and purpose. This duality of surface simplicity and underlying meaningfulness is Hemingway's method—not exclusively his, of course, though he has carried artful simplicity so far as to make it distinctive. Hemingway can thus be called a realistic symbolist. Yet to say this is perhaps to ignore "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," for the epigraph, the bulky italicized thoughts, the hallucination are really not Hemingwayesque. With justification, then, it may be urged either that we revise the above ideas about Hemingway's fiction to include this story or that we satisfactorily account for the difference between "The Snows" and his other fiction.

Reading *Nostromo* as an influence on "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" serves not only to explain much in the story that we find strange but also to clarify the story's intent. Like so many Conrad novels, *Nostromo* begins with an epigraph, "So foul a sky clears not without a storm." This quotation from *King John* would not be out of place as an epigraph for "The Snows," since the story, like the novel, effects a cleansing process. One of the key symbols of the novel is

the snows of Higuerota, a mountain rising majestically above the plains, the town, the gulf: ". . . the night air, as if cooled by the snows of Higuerota, refreshed their faces."¹

The similarity between Nostromo and Harry concentrates the influence of the novel: both men are forced into inactivity; both palpably feel the touch of death; both die. Nostromo and Harry are essentially men of action—animal-like, masculine, attractive to women. And they are forced to reckon up the cost. Three times, in fact, Nostromo is made to remain inactive and to reflect, to take stock of himself: first, on the boat with Decoud; second, among the ruins of the old fort; third, while awaiting death on the island. In the old fort "The first thing upon which Nostromo's eyes fell on waking was this patient watcher for the signs of death and corruption. . . . Long after [the vulture] had vanished, Nostromo, lifting his eyes up to the sky, muttered, 'I am not dead yet'" (413). Later, an owl, the cry of which "announces calamity and death in the popular belief, drifted vaguely like a large dark ball across his path" (418). Both Nostromo and Harry meet an ironic death, away from home, in an isolated place, at night.

Nostromo is described by Conrad as "the man who had lived his own life on the assumption of unbroken fidelity, rectitude, and courage" (561). But Nostromo, like Harry, too often is out of his environment. Both of them are, or have been, taken up by rich people; and they have thus become spies, so to speak, in the country of the rich. Like Harry, Nostromo feels that he has been betrayed by wealth and by rich people: he goes so far as to take stealthily the silver hidden on the Great Isabella. This is Nostromo's reaction. What he does not realize, however, is the effect the stealing of the silver will have on him: "A transgression, a crime, entering a man's existence, eats it up like a malignant growth, consumes it like a fever. Nostromo had lost his peace; the genuineness of all his qualities was destroyed" (523). Like Harry, Nostromo has fought a losing battle against himself and against riches, and he has finally been struck down. Yet it is at this time, his moment of defeat, that he achieves his ultimate success and reaches his final victory. The secret of the silver dies with him, and Linda, his betrothed, whom he did not love and did betray, shouts that she will never forget him:²

¹ Joseph Conrad, *Nostromo*, Kent Edition (New York, 1925), p. 184. All references are to this edition.

² At the end of the short story Helen speaks Harry's name four times; with

Dr. Monygham, pulling round in the police-galley, heard the name pass over his head. It was another of Nostromo's triumphs, the greatest, the most enviable, the most sinister of all. In that true cry of undying passion that seemed to ring aloud from Punta Mala to Azuera and away to the bright line of the horizon, overhung by a big white cloud shining like a mass of solid silver, the genius of the magnificent Capataz de Cargadores dominated the dark gulf containing his conquests of treasure and love (566).

This signal of Nostromo's victory—the rising of the name above the earth and the gulf—suggests the signal of Harry's victory, the hallucination that he is flying toward the snows of Kilimanjaro.

The point is not that "The Snows" is an imitation of *Nostromo*: the short story is original if only in that so much of it can be traced to Hemingway's experience, knowledge, and insight. But the ambitiousness, the breadth, the scope, the intent of the novel help us, I think, to understand and to appreciate the story: *Nostromo* seems to have functioned for Hemingway as a thematic inspiration, as a critical model, as a source.³

Purdue University

WILLIAM B. BACHE

A Skaldic Note

Sturl 4, 42 (*Hákonarkviða*) and the phrase
var geðsteinn . . . í stall drepinn

The manuscripts to this stanza show nothing to urge any other text than that in Skj 2 B 126:

Var geðsteinn
gauzkum manni
styrjar stund
í stall drepinn,

the realization that he is dead comes the oppressive awareness of "the beating of her heart."

³ Just a note on the similarity between *To Have and Have Not* and *Nostromo* (a man of the people as hero, the opposition of the poor hero and rich people, the use of characters to display variations on a theme, the moment of knowledge that comes after forced inactivity and with death): it seems worth remembering that in July, 1936, Hemingway decided to add to some previously published material to make *To Have and Have Not*. This was some three or four months after the completion of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro."

The problem lies not with the meaning of the phrase in question but with its form. In LP the statement is: "2 *stallr*, m, *forekommer i det mærkelige udtryk; drepa stall, blive forskrækket, . . . Dette udtryks oprindelse er det vanskeligt at bestemme; det findes i prosa, i en afvigende form, stall drepr ór hjarta; endnu en tredje udtryksmåde findes: var (hjarta) i stall drepit Sturl 4, 42, der dog måske beror på simpel misforståelse. 1 Stallr [referring to the meaning as 'crib,' 'stall' or 'altar'] synes ikke at kunne forklare udtryksmåden."*

It seems possible to show that all these variants are consistent and hence idiomatic and that the phrase is not properly as in LP *drepa stall* but *drepa stall* plus some reference to the heart. To do this it is necessary to indicate a possible origin for the phrase *drepa stall ór hjarta*.

An attempt to explain a turn of phrase by naive and naturalistic methods is properly suspect. None the less some such explanation seems to be credible as the source of the expression. Fritzner makes no attempt to explain giving merely the definition of the phrase under *stallr*. Cleasby-Vigfusson however glosses the phrase properly under *stallr* . . . 4 "the step of a mast . . . the metaphor . . . the heart fails is taken from the mast rocking in the step." This is close but not convincing as stated.

The *stallr* on a ship (Falk, p. 56) was the place where the base of the mast was set. Analogical arrangements exist on every small sailboat today. Now no matter how sturdy the stays and the rest of the boat's equipment may be if you kick out the *stallr*—which is to say if you remove the support at the base of the mast—the sailboat falls off as though shot. It is at this point that recourse is taken to the naturalistic explanation for *drepa stall ór hjarta*.

Any small boat sailor will confirm the fact that a boat sailing under a taut sail leaves the man at the tiller with a feeling remarkably like that of holding a live thing in his hands. And when a brace snaps or the mast breaks or is unstepped, the boat is abruptly sluggish and is felt by the man at the tiller. The live, pulsing vibration of the tiller vanishes instantly and what is left is a very dead stick of wood. Considerably less imaginative men than the skalds or the saga protagonists have in modern times used metaphors of life and death to describe this phenomenon. Nor is the notion that the tiller pulsing under a stiff breeze and a taut sail resembles a beating heart a particularly daring concept.

If one can accept the transfer of ideas between a suddenly damaged

boat, the concept of the heart as the seat of life and courage and the notion that the heart beats differently in the hearts of brave men and of cowards, then the origin, meaning and nature of the phrase are immediately clear. Only the first of these concepts is not actually and specifically known from Old Norse texts.

It is therefore not *drepa stall* that means 'to lose heart' but *drepa stall ór hjarta* or an equivalent. Of the variations to this, *hjarta drepr stall*, *hjarta í stall drepit*, none is basic. The variety rests perhaps partly on the question of whether the whole ship or only the mast is to be taken as the metaphorical equivalent to *hjarta*.

The adjective *stalldræpr* is then a derivative from any one or all of these phrases.

The works referred to are these:

- Falk: Hjalmar Falk, "Altnordisches Seewesen," in *Wörter und Sachen*, vol. 4 (Heidelberg, 1912).
 Fritzner: Johan Fritzner, *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, 3 vols. (Oslo, 1954).
 LP: Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis* (København, 1931).
 Skj: Finnur Jónsson, *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, 4 vols. (København, 1912-15).

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The Syncope of the Vowel *a* in the *at*-Suffix of the Past Participle in the *e*-Class of Old Norse Weak Verbs

The vowel *a* in the *at*-suffix of the past participle in the *ē*-verbs was regularly retained after a short-stem syllable (cf. *pola* 'to suffer,' *polda*, *pol-at*), but regularly lost only after a long-stem syllable (cf. *skorta* 'to lack,' *skorta*, *skort*). Occasionally, however, the reversed status occurred through the reciprocal influence of the two types (*polt* like *skort* and conversely, *skort-at* like *pol-at*). We must assume this reciprocal influence because the doublet forms *skort*: *skort-at* and *pol-at*: *polt* cannot otherwise be explained: they represent two different developments from one basic form. It is generally assumed that the contracted form of the type *skort* (< **skort-at*) is phonetically correct, due to the long-stem syllable. I do not believe that this assumption is valid. Against it is the fundamental fact that the

vowel *a* in the *at*-suffix does not represent a primary PGmc **a*, but a secondary ON *a* derived from an earlier **ā* which in turn was derived from either a PGmc **ē* or diphthong **ai* (> PN **ē*). The development of this **ā* is controversial and need not detain us here.¹ I can, however, find no evidence that a secondary short *a* was ever syncopated after a long-stem syllable if it was retained after a short-stem syllable, as is assumed for **skort-āt* > **skort-at* > *skort*, but **pol-āt* > *pol-at*. Even if we assume with Noreen² that the ultima (= PN penult, **skótlāðat* > **skortat*) received a weaker secondary stress after a long-stem syllable than after a short-stem syllable (**pólāðat* > *pol-at*), there is no evidence that the *length* of the stem syllable had any effect on either the syncope or the retention of a secondary short *a* in the end syllable, whether this *a* was derived from **ā* or from **ō*. Witness the universal retention of the secondary *a* (< **ō*) in the *at*-suffix of the *ō*-verbs, irrespective of the length of the stem syllable and under the same conditions of stress as in the *ē*-class: e.g. short stem-syllable, *var-a* 'to warn,' *var-at*; long-stem syllable, *kall-a* 'to call,' *kall-at*. Since unstressed **ō* and **ā* in these two verbal classes converged into a single phoneme *a* in the *at*-suffix, this phoneme could suffer no divergent treatment, whether derived from either one of these long vowels, i.e. **skort-āt* > **skort-at* like **kall-ōt* > *kall-at*. Since *kall-at* was never contracted to **kallt*, we may assume that **skort-at* was never contracted to *skort* and that therefore the shortened form *skort* is of analogical origin. We must look for the analogical pattern which the monosyllabic form *skort* followed in those weak verbs with long-stem syllable which never had a thematic vowel in the past participle suffix (i.e. *-t* instead of *-at*), and, like the *ē*-verbs, were without a connective vowel in the preterit formation. The initial point of contact between the type *skort* and the analogical pattern may be assumed where the stem syllable of both verbs was phonetically similar, i.e. in part identical. The stem syllable *skort-* in *skort-a* contains the radical vowel *o* plus the consonant cluster *-rt*. The *ht*-verb *yrkja* 'to work, make' likewise contains the radical vowel

¹ For a discussion of this question see Fritz Mezger, "Das Neutrum des altnordischen Part. Pass. der Verben der dritten schwachen Klasse," *Arkiv*, 50. 130-34 (1924).

² Cf. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*,⁴ § 139: "Eine ausnahme macht penultima von nicht zusammengesetzten wörtern, wo nach kurzer wurzelsilbe si vor kurzer unbetonter (und daher später synkopierten) ultima zunächst wol zu *ā* geworden ist . . . und dann zu *a* verkürzt, z. b. *vitaþr* (< **vitāðr*, got. *vitaiþs*) angewiesen, *sagaþr* gesagt, *tífat* gelebt. . . ."

o plus the consonant cluster *-rt* in the past participle form *ort* (< **worht*). Since the preterit formation *orta* (< **worhta*) preserves the same stem syllable as in the past participle and, like the *ē*-verb *skorta*, is without connective vowel, the phonetically correct past participle form **skortat* could easily have been displaced by the shortened form *skort* according to proportional analogy: *orta:ort*, hence *skorta:skort* (instead of **skort-at*).

The *ē*-verbs with long-stem syllable comprise an extremely small class. In fact, I have found only two examples of the long-stem syllables in which the monosyllabic form of the past participle has been preserved,³ viz. *horfa* 'to turn': *horft* and *skorta:skort*. All the past participle forms of the other *ē*-verbs with long-stem syllable are either not recorded or occur only with the *at*-suffix borrowed from the short stems. If my statistics are correct, these two verbs (*horfa* and *skorta*) furnish the only reliable evidence that the monosyllabic form of the past participle originated after a long-stem syllable. The past participle *horft* evidently followed the example of *skort* because of the radical vowel *o* plus the consonant cluster *-rf* (*r* plus a consonant as in *skort*). As a result of the intrusion of the *ht*-pattern into the past participle form of the *ē*-verbs there developed a secondary category of uniform structure with radical vowel *o* plus post-vocalic *r* in both the preterit-tense formation and the past participle: *orta:ort*, *skorta:skort*, *horfða:horft*. The fact that only these two verbs of the *ē*-class with long-stem syllable preserved the monosyllabic form of the past participle indicates that there was a reason for this restriction, such as I have assumed, viz. that the monosyllabic form survived only through the influence of the *ht*-pattern; elsewhere the *at*-suffix was borrowed from the short stems. The assumption of phonetic contraction cannot explain either this restriction or the discrepancy between the monosyllabic forms (*skort*, *horft*) and the universal retention of the *at*-suffix after a long-stem syllable in the *o*-class (*skort*, *horft* over against *kall-at*). The historical forms *skort-at*, *horf-at* represent secondary formations with the *at*-suffix borrowed from the short stems and are not to be confused with the prehistoric forms **skort-at*, **horft-at* replaced by *skort*, *horft*. The development may be summarized as follows: **skortēt* (or **skortait*) > **skortāt* >

³ The most complete list of the past participle forms is given by Ludwig Wimmer (*Altnordische Grammatik*, § 150), but here the doublet forms are often omitted.

**skortat* replaced by *skort* (after the pattern of *ort*) > *skort-at* with *at*-suffix borrowed from the short stems (*skort*:*skort-at*, like *pol-at*:*pol*).⁴

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The Wandering Jew and *The Travels and Adventures of James Massey*

A heretofore unnoted reference to the Wandering Jew in eighteenth-century literature occurs in Simon Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et Aventures de Jacques Massé*, which was translated into English as *The Travels and Adventures of James Massey* (London, 1733). In this work the author claims to have had dinner with the Wandering Jew, who calls himself Micob, and to have talked with him at length. The Jew explains that he was one of Pontius Pilate's domestics, and that after Christ was sentenced he stepped up to Him and asked Him why He was staying so long. Christ replied, "I'll be gone; but you shall stay till I return." As a consequence, the Jew says that he has been wandering over the face of the earth for the past 1600 years.

Since the Wandering Jew had travelled widely, spoke all tongues, and was blessed with a good memory, he was able to relate the truth about a thousand stories which history had recorded in a very confused manner. He had visited all corners of the earth, and mentioned countries which his listeners had never heard of before. One of his most interesting tales was about the saints that arose at the crucifixion of Christ. He said that all Jerusalem was terrified when it was reported that those at the burial ground had seen the earth shake, the graves open, and naked bodies arise from their graves. No one was able to tell of what sex the bodies were, for they all appeared to be the same size, the same age, and of the same complexion, and there was no mark by which they could be distinguished from one

⁴The monosyllabic forms of the past participle after a short-stem syllable are very rare; I have found only two examples, viz. *pol*t and *por*t (inf. *pora* 'to dare'). This restriction was evidently due to the fact that both these verbs, like *hor*-a and *skort*-a with long-stem syllable, contain the radical vowel *o*. The form *por*t undoubtedly followed the pattern of *skort* with radical vowel *o* plus the consonant cluster -rt, and *pol*t then evidently followed the pattern of *por*t with radical vowel *o* and initial *p*.

another. There was not a single hair upon their bodies; several opened their mouths, but there were no teeth to be seen; and their fingers seemed to be completely without nails. All these observations led the Wandering Jew to conclude that the excremental parts and those which serve to grind, swallow, and digest food on this earth will not accompany us to the afterlife, where, of course, they would be useless.

Many of the details in *The Travels and Adventures of James Massey* indicate that the portrait of the Wandering Jew was suggested by Giovanni Marana's *Letters of a Turkish Spy*. The mysterious wanderer in *The Turkish Spy* is also known as Michob—an unusual name which does not appear in any of the other early versions of the story. Marana's Michob also was punished with eternal life for thrusting Christ out of the hall of Pilate, although usually the Jew is described as a shoemaker who reproved Christ for stopping to rest in front of his house. And finally, the basic function of the Wandering Jew in both stories is the same. He is introduced as a sort of curiosity piece who, having lived for over 1600 years, is well prepared to give a dramatic first-hand account of the great events of history. In short, as the Turkish spy says of him, he is "a living chronology" and might pass for "the younger brother of time."

The Travels and Adventures of James Massey has not previously been noted in any of the histories or bibliographies of the Wandering Jew legend. It is not mentioned in Conway's study,¹ which remains probably the most comprehensive single treatment of the legend. Nor is it listed in Neubar's comprehensive bibliography of literature on the Wandering Jew.² Within recent years G. K. Anderson has published a number of illuminating articles on the Wandering Jew,³ but he also has failed to mention *The Travels of James Massey*. In short, this appearance of the Wandering Jew has not been pointed out in any previous studies of the legend.

In many respects, of course, the picture of the Wandering Jew in *The Travels of James Massey* is a traditional one. Nor is this the first time that the legend had been used as a sort of framework for

¹ Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Wandering Jew* (New York, 1881).

² L. Neubar, *Zur Bibliographie der Sage vom Ewigen Juden* (Leipzig, 1893-1911).

³ "The Wandering Jew Returns to England," *The Journal of English and German Philology*, XLV (1946), 237-250; "The Neo-Classical Chronicle of the Wandering Jew," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LXIII (1948), 199-213; "The History of Israel Jobson," *Philological Quarterly*, XXV (1946), 303-320.

a rapid survey of famous historical characters and events. The account is unique in one respect, however: here for the first time the Wandering Jew is introduced in order to make an authoritative pronouncement upon a typical fine point of medieval theology—the condition of the body in the afterlife.

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A Note on the Temporary Suppression of *Tom Jones* in France

While translations of foreign classics were, from time to time, banned in France owing to the expression of ideas or attitudes which the government refused officially to sanction, the suppression of the initial French edition of *Tom Jones* was based neither on any intrinsic defect within the novel itself, nor because of immorality, nor for hostile criticism of Church or State. The reason for this action was of a more ignominious nature.

A bookseller of Paris, named Jacques Rollin, had taken it upon himself to print the *Histoire de Tom Jones* under a foreign title-page and to sell copies of it before he had received a privilege or permission from an official censor. Later, evidently desirous of augmenting his profits by legitimate means, he was either bold or stupid enough to request permission to print the same work which he had already illegally distributed. Detected by the police, Rollin's plan did not succeed; it was considered that he had flagrantly disregarded the regulations of the *librairie*; he was fined 500 livres; his edition of *Tom Jones* was banned and those who owned copies were ordered to relinquish them immediately at the *greffe de la police*.¹

A foreign masterpiece was thus at least temporarily suppressed merely to punish a bookseller.

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¹ Bibliothèque nationale, Fr. 22092, pp. 151, 152 (52), 24 February 1750.

A Detail in Rousseau's Thought: Language and Perfectibility

Within the framework of Rousseau's thought the much-debated problem of the origin of language has a particular significance: one of Rousseau's central ideas is that man is not the social-political animal, but "De tous les animaux celui qui peut le moins vivre en troupeaux," and "L'haleine de l'homme est mortelle à ses semblables."¹ He challenges thus the Aristotelian position: "That man is more of a political animal than bees or any other gregarious animal is evident," for "Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech."² For Aristotle, man's ability to speak was the proof for man's natural sociability. Rousseau's denial of man's natural sociability led him inevitably to the examination of the Aristotelian evidence, namely the gift of speech, and to the problem of the origin of language.

Rousseau discusses the origin of language at great length in the famous *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* and in his *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, which was originally, at least, an expanded footnote to the *Discours*.³ A detailed discussion of Rousseau's theory of the origin of language is beyond the scope of this short article. It has been pointed out by various writers, and admitted by Rousseau himself,⁴ that most of Rousseau's ideas concerning the origin of language developed from Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. One way to explain the origin of language is as sounds which are directly expressive of the passions or moods of the speaker: "Le premier langage de l'homme . . . est le cri de la nature"

¹ J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile I, Oeuvres complètes de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Hachette, 1905), II, 27. Other quotations from Rousseau will be taken from this same edition, and the reference given parenthetically in the main body of the article.

² Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, Chapter 2. Cf. R. McKeon, *The Basic Works of Aristotle* (New York, 1941), p. 1129.

³ See P. M. Masson, "Questions de chronologie rousseauiste," *Annales de la Société J.-J. Rousseau*, IV (1913), 37-61.

⁴ "Je pourrais me contenter de citer ou de répéter ici les recherches que M. l'abbé de Condillac a faites sur cette matière, qui toutes confirment pleinement mon sentiment, et qui peut-être m'en ont donné la première idée," *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (Hachette I, 93). See also J. Morel, "Recherches sur les sources du discours de l'inégalité," *Annales*, x (1909), 119-198. For a discussion of Rousseau's theory on the origin of language see further Ed. Claparède, "Rousseau et l'origine du langage," *Annales*, xxIV (1935), 94-119.

(*Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, Hachette I, 94). "Pour émouvoir un jeune cœur, pour repousser un agresseur injuste, la nature dicte des accens, des cris, des plaintes. Voilà les plus anciens mots inventés" (*Essai sur l'origine des langues*, Hachette I, 374). Another possible origin of language lies in sounds which imitate the denoted object: "Ils exprimaient donc les objets visibles et mobiles par des gestes et ceux qui frappent l'ouïe par les sons imitatifs" (*Discours*, Hachette I, 94). In the *Essai* we are told that primitive languages are poetic because "l'onomatopée s'y ferait sentir continuellement" (Hachette I, 375).

The rather startling turn in Rousseau's thought, however, occurs when—after laying the foundations for an explanation of the origin of language—he gives up the whole problem as insoluble: "Effrayé des difficultés que se multiplient, et convaincu de l'impossibilité presque démontrée que les langues aient pu naître et s'établir par des moyens purement humains, je laisse à qui voudra l'entreprendre la discussion de ce difficile problème" (*Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, Hachette I, 96). A similar statement concerning the impossibility of explaining the origin of language is also made in *Emile*: "Les réflexions naissent en foule quand on veut s'occuper de la formation du langage et des premiers discours des enfans. Quoiqu'on fasse, ils apprendront toujours à parler de la même manière et toutes les spéculations philosophiques sont ici de la plus grande inutilité" (*Emile* I, Hachette II, 39-40).

Rousseau's admission of the impossibility of explaining the origin of language amounts practically to a concession that language is one of the natural innate qualities of men. It tremendously weakens his doctrine of natural insociability. Rousseau must have been aware of this. Certainly his contemporaries were. Thus Beauzée and Douchet, when attacking Rousseau's doctrine of natural insociability in the *Encyclopédie* article *Langue*, realize immediately how Rousseau's inability to explain language is the weakest link of his whole argument: "Quel parti a-t-il tiré de cette chimérique hypothèse [namely natural insociability] pour expliquer le fait de l'origine des langues? Il a trouvé les difficultés les plus grandes et il est contraint à la fin de les avouer insolubles . . . Que ne faisoit-il encore quelques pas? Ayant vu d'une manière démonstrative que les langues ne peuvent tenir à l'hypothèse de l'homme né sauvage, ni s'être établies par des moyens purement humains, que ne concluoit-il la même chose de la société?"

Que n'abandonnoit-il pas entièrement son hypothèse comme aussi incapable d'expliquer l'un que l'autre?"⁵

It is interesting to study in somewhat greater detail just how Rousseau maneuvers himself into this dilemma concerning the origin of language and society and how he could have avoided it with comparative ease. Rousseau states that man is inherently distinguished from the animal by two qualities: one of them (and less important for our discussion) is free will,⁶ the other is the quality of perfectibility: "Mais, quand les difficultés qui environnent toutes ces questions laisseroient quelque lieu de disputer sur cette différence de l'homme et de l'animal, il y a une autre qualité très-spécifique qui les distingue, et sur laquelle il ne peut y avoir de contestation: c'est la faculté de se perfectionner, faculté qui, à l'aide des circonstances, développe successivement toutes les autres, et réside parmi nous tant dans l'espèce que dans l'individu" (*Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, Hachette I, 90). Thus Rousseau could have explained language quite easily as a faculty which developed from man's natural perfectibility as the result of the advent of society. But Rousseau strangely enough does not want to take this way out. He explicitly states that he does not know whether society preceded language or *vice versa*: "Je laisse à qui voudra l'entreprendre la discussion de ce difficile problème, lequel a été plus nécessaire de la société déjà liée à l'institution des langues, ou des langues déjà inventées à l'établissement de la société" (*Discours*, Hachette I, 96).

But Rousseau goes even farther in cutting off all possibility of explaining language as an accidental result of perfectibility. In a statement which is a startling inconsistency in the entire logic of human development as pictured in the *Discours*, he declares the basic innate human quality of perfectibility is the result rather than the cause of language. "D'ailleurs les idées générales ne peuvent s'introduire dans l'esprit qu'à l'aide des mots, et l'entendement ne les saisit que par des propositions. C'est une raison pourquoi les animaux ne sauroient se former de telles idées ni jamais acquérir la perfectibilité qui en dépend" (Hachette I, 95). A statement from the *Essai sur*

⁵ *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et des métiers* (Neufchâtel, 1765), IX, 250, 252.

⁶ "Je ne vois dans tout animal qu'une machine ingénieuse. J'aperçois précisément les mêmes choses dans la machine humaine, avec cette différence que la nature seule fait tout dans les opérations de la bête, au lieu que l'homme concourt aux siennes en qualité d'agent libre." *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (Hachette I, 89).

l'origine des langues makes even clearer yet that Rousseau's basic human quality of perfectibility depends on language: "La langue de convention n'appartient qu'à l'homme. Voilà pourquoi l'homme fait des progrès soit en bien, soit en mal et pourquoi les animaux n'en font pas" (Hachette I, 373). The implication of the last statement is clear: it is not so much perfectibility, but language which is the primary innate human characteristic. As a matter of fact, the first sentence of the *Essai* states this quite clearly and unambiguously: "La parole distingue l'homme entre les animaux" (Hachette I, 370).

The thought that perfectibility is primary and language only the secondary result—the chain of reasoning which could have saved the logic of the *Discours*—is also stated by Rousseau, but it is buried in footnote *j* where Rousseau discusses the possibility of the orangutang belonging to the human species: "On ne voit point dans ces passages les raisons sur lesquelles les auteurs se fondent pour refuser aux animaux en question le nom d'hommes sauvages: mais il est aisé de conjecturer que c'est à cause de leur stupidité, et aussi parce qu'ils ne parloient pas; raisons foibles pour ceux qui savent que, quoique l'organe de la parole soit naturel à l'homme, la parole elle-même ne lui est pourtant pas naturelle, et qui connoissent jusqu'à quel point sa perfectibilité peut avoir élevé l'homme civil au-dessus de son état originel" (Hachette I, 141-142).

Obviously Rousseau hesitated between two points of view: one which made language dependent on perfectibility, another which made language a cause of perfectibility and a specific primary characteristic of man. Rousseau seemed to give greater emphasis to the second theory in spite of its obvious damage to the theory of natural insociability. But Rousseau's dilemma is quite clear: he is interested in establishing the specific characteristics of humanity. He wants to make clear that man, while having certain features of the *bête-machine*, is not merely a mechanical contraption, not an *homme-machine*, but innately superior to the beast (cf. footnote 6 above). Descartes, when creating the idea of *bête-machine*, had already asked himself what the obvious, observable human characteristics were. How can we tell human beings from automatons? Descartes' answer had been that human beings possess speech: "Il n'y a pour les reconnaître que les deux moyens que j'ai expliqués dans ma Méthode, dont l'un est que jamais, si ce n'est par hasard, ces automates ne répondent, ni de parole, ni même par signes, à propos de ce dont on les inter-

roge."⁷ In order to bring man to the level of *bête-machine*, in order to create *l'homme-machine*, one must give a rational account for the origin of speech. As Leonora C. Rosenfield has shown in her study of *From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine*,⁸ the attempts to break down the Cartesian distinction between man and *bête-machine* revolve to a large extent around the problem of explaining language. La Mettrie, of course, who felt that "des animaux à l'homme la transition n'est pas violente," gives a purely rational mechanistic explanation of the origin of speech which was invented by "les hommes les mieux organisés."⁹ Rousseau must have realized on'y too well that a rational explanation of language weakens the barrier between human and animal and strengthens the theories of *l'homme-machine* and of transformism, which he disliked intensely.¹⁰ To interpose will and perfectibility between man and beast was simply not enough. So he tampered only reluctantly with the quality of speech even though an explanation of speech as a derivative rather than a basic quality could have strengthened his theories regarding man's natural lack of social predisposition.

Accepting speech rather than perfectibility as a primary quality, while at the same time denying that man is naturally Aristotle's political animal, leaves Rousseau in a somewhat awkward position. But Rousseau quite boldly escapes the dilemma by accepting Aristotle's proof while simultaneously rejecting his conclusion. In other words, Rousseau denies the relevance of speech for society. In the *Essai sur l'origine des langues* he insists that "si nous n'avions jamais eu que des besoins physiques nous aurions fort bien pu ne parler jamais, et nous entendre parfaitement par la seule langue de geste. Nous aurions pu établir des sociétés peu différentes de ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui, ou qui même auroient marché mieux à leur but" (Hachette I, 372). And so Rousseau insists on a theory of language which sees the *raison d'être* of speech not in the need for social communication, but in the expression of men's passion. "Que la première invention de la parole ne vient pas des besoins mais des passions" is the title of the second chapter of his *Essai* (Hachette I, 373). But to

⁷ R. Descartes, *Lettre LIX, Oeuvres philosophiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1835), IV, 171.

⁸ Leonora C. Rosenfield, *From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine* (New York, 1941), *passim*.

⁹ Julien Offray de la Mettrie, *L'Homme machine* (Paris, Broissard, 1921), pp. 81-82.

¹⁰ For Rousseau's attitude toward Transformism, see Walter Fräsdorf, *Die psychologischen Anschauungen J.-J. Rousseaus* (Langensalza, 1928), pp. 73 ff.

expand the latter thought—so tremendously important in the development of the aesthetics of self-expression in the literary theories of Herder and of the Romantics—goes beyond the scope of the problem dealt with in this article.

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Hugo's Interest in Social Problems

When speaking of Victor Hugo's interest in social problems critics even today mention *Le Dernier Jour d'un condamné*, published in 1829, as the first such manifestation.¹ Yet, in a recent issue of *La Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*² M. Debien has demonstrated the great timeliness of *Bug Jargal* in 1825. Indeed, the recognition of the new state of Haiti by Charles X; the demands for indemnities by the dispossessed former land owners; the question of slavery in the remaining French colonies were problems that preoccupied French public opinion in 1826. In the same article, M. Debien has also shown how Hugo has transformed the originally simple tale of the *Conservateur Littéraire* of 1820 into the "roman des luttes de couleur à Saint Domingue en 1791."

A study of the press of 1826 corroborates M. Debien's conclusions. Similarly, it shows that contemporary critics were well aware of Hugo's intentions.

The journalists of the legitimist press still heap praise on the "enfant prodige." However, they watch his new interests with mixed emotions. They feel compelled to temper their compliments. *Le Drapeau Blanc*, after extolling the purely literary aspects of the novel, frowns upon Hugo's conception of his hero Bug Jargal. The monarchist critic resents "un nègre du Congo représenté comme un modèle de grandeur, d'héroïsme, de sensibilité."³ Indeed, this champion of white supremacy feels that to accept Hugo's hero would be to 'reconnaître à la race africaine une capacité de haute civilisation

¹ André Maurois, *Olympio ou la vie de Victor Hugo* (Paris: Hachette, 1954), p. 157.

² G. Debien, "Bug Jargal, ses sources et intentions historiques," *RHLF*, LII (juillet-septembre 1952), 298-313.

³ *Le Drapeau Blanc*, 20 mars 1826.

qu'elle ne possède en aucune manière."⁴ He is joined by his colleague of *L'Etoile* who, after complaining about the high social standing achieved by the negroes in the France of 1826, also objects to the idealization of Bug Jargal's character. He consoles himself with the thought that the novelist "a peint le reste des noirs sous des couleurs dont nos philanthropes seront probablement scandalisés, car il n'a rien dissimulé de leur cruauté stupide et de leur brutalité féroce."⁵ *Les Annales de la Littérature et des Arts*, mouthpiece of the famous *Société des Bonnes Lettres*, express the general uneasiness of the right when they express the hope that their collaborator (Hugo) "reprenne en main cette lyre dont il a tiré de si bons vers, qu'il nous donne encore des odes comme celles . . . des Vierges de Verdun, de Louis XVII. . . ."⁶

Two important organs of the left, *La Revue Encyclopédique* and *Le Globe*, were, as always, more preoccupied with social than with esthetic considerations. Their reaction makes clear that *libéral* contemporaries were as aware of Hugo's newly awakened social consciousness as their *ultra* colleagues. In spite of its abhorrence of the type of romanticism preached and practiced by Hugo and his friends; in spite of its fear that the classicists might repeat ceaselessly "au public, qui finira par le croire, que le romantisme, c'est *Han d'Islande*" with all its excesses⁷ (excesses that are also those of *Bug Jargal*), the *doctrinaire* paper sees some hope in Hugo's latest work. At least his intentions are good. This fact allows *Le Globe* to speak more indulgently of the novel's literary weaknesses. It is true that Hugo is not a *libéral* (yet), but it is just as true that "son intention générale est bienveillante pour les noirs."⁸ Indeed, adds *La Revue Encyclopédique*, "c'est toujours une idée philosophique et morale que d'avoir montré un noir si supérieur aux blancs, puisque c'est combattre le préjugé qui voudrait les placer au dernier rang de l'échelle des hommes."⁹ Although his official political affiliations force Hugo to condemn any kind of insurrection *per se*, "quiconque aura lu son livre se sentira de nouveaux motifs pour remercier le ciel . . . de la liberté d'Haïti."¹⁰

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⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *L'Etoile*, 6 mars 1826.

⁶ *Les Annales de la Littérature et des Arts*, XXII (avril 1826), 333.

⁷ *Le Globe*, 2 février 1826.

⁸ *Le Globe*, 2 mars 1826.

⁹ *La Revue Encyclopédique*, XXIX (avril 1826), 846-847.

¹⁰ *Le Globe*, 2 mars 1826.

REVIEWS

R. W. Zandvoort, *Collected Papers: A Selection of Notes and Articles Originally Published in English Studies and Other Journals* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1954. viii + 186 pp. fl. 7.90. Groningen Studies in English V). THE distinguished editor of *English*

Studies has assembled in this volume the eighteen papers that he considers "the most important of my articles in English published over the last thirty-seven years." They vary in length from one to twenty pages, and they fall according to subject matter into four groups.

Two deal with Old English: a revised lecture on the Leiden Riddle and a series of three short notes on the Alfredian Boethius. Four treat pre-Elizabethan drama: a suggestive discussion of the messenger in early English plays, a correction of an error in Brandl's edition of the interlude *Nature*, a note on line 26 of *The Castle of Perseverance*, and a study of *Everyman* and *Elckerlijc* in which Pollard's position that the Dutch play is the original is judiciously supported. Shakespeare is the subject of three papers: "Fair Portia's Counterfeit," an examination of the playwright's use of conventional technique, classical in origin, in the description of pictures; an analysis of the euphuistic prose spoken by Brutus in his forum speech as contrasted to the arcadianism of Antony's poetic lines that follow; and a careful study of the motivation of Macbeth, a close reading of the text showing that the protagonist was "corrupted by the combined influences of the demonic apparitions . . . and of his wife."

The papers on language make up more than half the book and are somewhat more meaty than those already mentioned. Two are primarily discussions of the work of other scholars: "Progress in Syntax" (which treats at some length the author's fellow-countrymen Poutsma and Kruisinga) and "A Critique of Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar*." Others are devoted to such varied topics as the perfect of experience, the relative frequency of the forms and functions of *to do*, the genitive, two collective functions of the nominal *s*-suffix (organizational *s* and familial *s*), inorganic *for* (as in "It is absurd for us to quarrel"), American pronunciation, and pregnant *one* (in which the sense of OE *an*, as in *Beowulf* 1458, 1885, is shown to have

continuing existence in present-day English, especially in the United States).

These papers, which are written in crisp, idiomatic English, confirm what readers of *English Studies* have long known: that Professor Zandvoort has a broad knowledge of and a wide interest in the literature of England and the English language. And it is good to have them thus collected, both for their own worth and for a reminder of the contributions of Dutch scholars to English philology.

G. & C. Merriam Co.,
Springfield, Mass.

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

F. M. Salter, *Mediaeval Drama in Chester* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1955. xi + 130 pp. Index). ANYONE who can evoke the sights and sounds of the Corpus Christi pageants in Tudor England and something of the impulse that maintained them for two centuries is assured an eager audience. This is the principal achievement of Professor F. M. Salter's 1953-54 Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto, attractively published in 1955 by the University of Toronto Press. In the first of his four lectures, Professor Salter sketches in the familiar background of the medieval drama and proceeds to show how the religious, folk, and professional tributaries can be documented from existing 16th century records of the city of Chester. Anyone who has labored to bring any sort of production to the stage will feel it in his muscles as he reads items such as this one from the 'Churchwardens' accounts which Professor Salter brings forward to demonstrate the existence of the liturgical stream:

1558 for wyer candles wax candles etc. scouring candlesticks wachinge the sepulchre at Ester etc. for a pully to the starr & setting it vp 4^d (p. 17)

Or others from the City Treasurer's accounts, illustrating the folk tradition:

1564 Itm paid to houghe gillome for daunsinge at midsomer vij^s
Itm paid Thomas yeaton for gonne pouldre at the trivmpe . . .
xiiij^s (p. 24)

The grit of pumice, the teeter of the A-ladder, the smell of black powder—such flashes make the past very real.

Professor Salter's second lecture explores the origin of the Chester mysteries. His introductory descriptive analysis of the play of Noah's

Flood is interesting, but pale by comparison with the vivid contemporary records just quoted. The discussion of the history of the Proclamation serves as an exemplum on the importance of going to primary sources and interpreting them accurately; but the argument with Morris and Chambers and the detailed account of successive confusions as to the identity of the founder of the mysteries is the sort of material usually relegated to footnotes. The conclusions, however, are important: Salter gives good reasons for rejecting E. K. Chambers' widely accepted date of 1328 (*The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 348 ff.) for the founding of the Chester plays, and himself advances good arguments for accepting the suggestion made by Frances Foster (EETS, OS, 166, xliii) that the plays were begun under the auspices of Sir Henry Francis, Abbot of St. Werburgh's Monastery in Chester, c. 1377-82. The end of this lecture is in effect a documentation of H. C. Gardiner's argument in *Mysteries' End* that the mysteries, among them the Chester plays, were brought to an end by the systematic opposition of the episcopate and the government which regarded them as Catholic propaganda. Salter agrees with Gardiner that to 1531 the plays remained under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome; that much of the contemporary confusion as to their origin resulted from the efforts of the city fathers during Elizabeth's reign to expunge the taint of Papistry; and that the guilds were financially able and eager to carry them on long after they had been prohibited.

The third and in many ways most interesting lecture summarizes the evidence about the staging and production of the Chester plays. We learn that the pageant wagons were probably much larger and more elaborate than commonly supposed. Seven men at 4^d a day each were required to haul the Coopers' wagon down the easy route from the abbey to the river. There were fewer wagons than plays, and their rent to a sister guild might amount to more than \$100 a day in our currency. Such wagons might cost as much as \$2,500 to refurbish and prepare for a presentation. They were evidently roofed and equipped with elaborate machinery for "flying" sets and actors; they had trapdoors, platform mountains, hidden recesses for "discoveries," and painted backdrops—no theatre in the round for Chester, whatever might be the case at Whitehall! In 1554, according to Professor Salter's estimate, the Smiths paid about \$6,000 to produce their 336-line, 20-minute play. Female parts were taken by women, and, again to judge from the fees paid, major rôles must have been performed by professional actors. The five pages itemizing expenses

for the Coopers' play in 1572 (Salter, pp. 72-77) suggest the Tournament of Roses out of Pieter Bruegel. All of this is the sort of specific information of which we can never have enough. Not only is it intrinsically interesting, but it also fills in the background of our knowledge of the Elizabethan drama: we see how much Ariel and Caliban owe in their conceptions and behavior to the angels and devils in Chester.

In his final lecture, Professor Salter has undertaken a critical appraisal of the mysteries. The only possible injustice in his fine book lies in his failure (unconscious, to be sure, since it is cited elsewhere) to acknowledge here the inspiration of G. R. Coffman's classic "Plea for the Study of the Corpus Christi Plays as Drama" (*SP*, xxvi [1929], 411-24). The article and lecture begin with the same quotations and make the same plea for a contemporary and dramaturgic approach to the plays. Salter then goes on to give some of the dramatic analysis that Coffman calls for, and through his own insights into the importance of singing and of the highly dramatic possibilities of various passages to revive the scenes and feelings of the plays.

Few scholars today can speak with Professor Salter's authority about the English mysteries. As a research assistant to John M. Manly in England (1928-30), he discovered a new manuscript of the Trial and Flagellation play among the records of the Coopers' Guild in Chester. This text, along with a preliminary study of the whole Chester cycle, was published by the Malone Society in 1935. In 1939 and 1940 he published two important articles in the *Review of English Studies* entitled "The Banns of the Chester Plays," but actually dealing with the whole history of the cycle, and a third article printing the pre- and post-Reformation versions of the banns (*RES* xv [1939], 432-57; xvi [1940], 1-17, 137-47). The present book does not supersede this earlier work; serious students will still turn to it for precise information about individual plays. But one cannot pore over the records of the mysteries for a quarter of a century, as Professor Salter has done, without getting some pretty clear impressions about how they were presented and how the audience, actors, and officials felt on play day. These impressions Professor Salter has managed admirably to convey.

Duke University

JOHN H. FISHER

C. J. Sisson, *New Readings in Shakespeare* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956. Vol. I: x + 218 pp. Vol. II: viii + 300 pp. Shakespeare Problems Series, 8. \$8.50). THIS work may be viewed as a supplement to the author's edition of Shakespeare completed in 1953 and now available in both English and American issues. In that edition the brief introductions to the separate works indicate the points in the text where doubtful readings have been adopted or introduced, but there is no discussion of these readings. Mr. Sisson now supplies the discussion, in a form that can be used in connection with his or any other edition, and if his work served no other purpose, it would still be a handy *omnium gatherum* of textual cruxes.

A thirty-nine page introduction provides an outline of Mr. Sisson's own guiding principles of emendation. It is a sound and interesting essay. At only two points was the present reader left with a sense of dissatisfaction. Mr. Sisson belongs to the school of editors who modernize Elizabethan punctuation except in particular instances where the Elizabethan system, whatever it may have been, arouses in them an almost mystical reverence. He also warns against eighteenth-century "contamination" of the text while acquiescing in the most notable instance of that contamination—unbracketed place-labeling of scenes and expansion of stage directions. Unlike his eighteenth century predecessors, he thinks in terms of the Elizabethan stage, but his manipulation of stage directions betrays an overconfidence in the present state of our knowledge.

Approximately two thousand readings are discussed. The method is to quote the passage from the copy text, then to debate the issues involved, and finally to debate the preferred reading. This may or may not coincide with the reading in other recent editions, Kittredge's, Wilson's, Alexander's, the New Arden, etc. Mr. Sisson cites a variable number of these, but according to no discernible system, and his "eclecticism" in this regard is a little irritating. Usually, in line with the healthy modern tendency, his readings eschew emendation: in *Macbeth*, for instance, where thirty-six passages are treated, only eleven involve any significant departure from the folio text, as compared, according to my count of these particular cruxes, with thirteen in Kittredge (1936) and sixteen in the Globe edition. The margin of difference is slighter than one might expect, but is important nevertheless.

There are, as a matter of fact—and fortunately—very few “new readings” in a literal sense, and Mr. Sisson explains in his introduction that his title signifies that his readings are less new than *newly considered*. His ideal has been to approach the text in a fresh, objective, and scholarly way, with deference to contemporary paleographical and bibliographical theory.

Occasional departure from the ideal is, of course, inevitable; and one may instance only the category of departure that involves Mr. Sisson's own specialty—textual corruption resulting from compositor misreading of English secretary hand. Sometimes Mr. Sisson applies with excellent results his system of writing out doubtful passages in the old hand and then deciding on the way in which the compositor may have been misled. For instance, his defense of the emendation “gone” for “given” (*Macbeth*, V, iv, II) is most convincing, while his new emendation “taxings” for “things” in place of Theobald's “thwartings” (*Coriolanus*, III, ii, 2I) is a palpable hit. But from time to time he finds it convenient to depart from his own principle of “graphic plausibility.” In accepting, for instance, the emendation “smaller” for “taller” (*As You Like It*, I, ii, 284), he forsakes the characteristics of English secretary hand and postulates “a blot or tear in a much-used copy.” Thus, in a way delightfully characteristic of “scientific” textual study, he cooks his case and provides all those not expert in secretary hand a precedent for defending their readings—by postulating fly-specks, tear-drops, pipe-burns, splashes of rhenish, or what you will.

The fact is that Mr. Sisson has been governed here not by scholarly objectivity but by what may be called the myth of perfection. Shakespeare must always be right. But it is more likely that he made a slip here and called Celia taller than Rosalind (though she actually was shorter) than that the printer made a mistake. In *Measure for Measure* the law against fornication has lain dormant for nineteen years in one scene, and for fourteen years in the next scene. A blot in the copy? Similar discrepancies occur in every play, and should be noted in the commentary, not corrected in the text. One may venture to add that if the word Shakespeare wr^t was not actually “taller,” then it need have had nothing to do with size at all (there are other ways of distinguishing between two girls), and Mr. Sisson was presented with an opportunity to exercise both a fresh mind and his principle of “graphic plausibility.”

But such a deviation, while far from unique in this book, is also

far from characteristic. Mr. Sisson is an excellent reader of Shakespeare, with higher virtues than those of consistency.

Harvard University

ALFRED HARBAGE

Nathaniel Lee, *The Works*, edd. Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1954. Vol. I: v + 484; Vol. II: iii + 613 pp. \$15.00). William Smith Clark, *The Early Irish Stage: The Beginnings to 1720* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955. xii + 227 pp. \$4.80). ONE's initial observation on this edition of Lee, the first in over two centuries, may well be an economic rather than a literary one. Thirty years ago, when Montague Summers and others were engaged in rescuing a number of long neglected Restoration writers from oblivion, a custom was established of providing handsome, even elegant, editions representing the best efforts of such presses as Nonesuch and Fortune. That day is clearly gone. The present editors must be content with a more modest kind of publication, being obliged to pack thirteen plays and a handful of poems into two moderate-sized volumes in off-set type which falls a great deal short of elegance. In making this contrast I do not wish to depreciate the work of Professors Stroup and Clark, who have obviously had to compromise with the hard realities of contemporary publishing. I prefer instead to compliment them on a job well done. The editing of these volumes is businesslike and thorough. The introductions, both general and individual, summarize scholarly fact and judgment, covering stage history, sources, facts of publication, and critical opinion. The handling of the text seems more than merely adequate. Copy-texts have been carefully chosen and checked for error; variants are given in detail; annotations are compact and useful. In short, the editors have provided students of tragedy with an uncomely but sound text of a dramatist who in his own day and for several generations to follow was highly popular—though to our own tastes somewhat rhetorical and turgid.

Professor Clark's book on the Dublin theatre provides a pleasing typographical contrast, for it represents the tradition of fine printing long established at the Clarendon Press. My reactions to the scholarship of this work are also favorable on the whole. The author has gathered together a wealth of widely scattered material though, as he readily acknowledges, much of the labor of assembling had already

been done by the late W. J. Lawrence. These facts he uses judiciously to relate in detail the activities, principally in the capital, of the earliest stage entrepreneurs, chiefly John Ogilby and Joseph Ashbury. The story of the monopoly, closely paralleling that of the London stage; of the intense political struggle, especially in the 1680's, and its effects on the acting company; of the early careers of actors and authors later famous in London, such as Wilks, Farquhar, Doggett, Pinkethman, Quin—all are fully and carefully given or as fully as the sometimes meager facts allow. Of particular interest to students of the stage are the details on the two earliest theatres, in St. Werburgh Street and Smock Alley. These include facts of location, size, and structure; much information on the manner of staging plays; and a highly detailed account of individual actors, along with several lists of the members of the Dublin company at various stages of its development. My only quarrels with Professor Clark are two quite minor ones. First I should enter a mild demurrer to his title. Perhaps it would be too drastic to suggest as more appropriate "The English Theatre in Ireland to 1720," but, as the author acknowledges more than once, this is not really an account of an Irish theatre but of the activities of chiefly English actors and authors to provide theatrical entertainment for the English rulers of Ireland. At the very most the title should have been confined to Dublin since the few activities, largely non-professional, recorded for Kilkenny and Cork scarcely support the claim that Ashbury "transformed the Irish stage from a Dublin Castle recreation to a popular enterprise of nationwide interest. . . ." My other quarrel is with the author's less than gracious dismissal of Miss Stockwell's account of the same period as "rather sketchy." Since her treatment is approximately half as long and quite as fully documented as his own the phrase seems hardly just.

University of Texas

LEO HUGHES

Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, ed. Roberta Florence Brinkley (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1955. xxxviii + 704 pp. \$12.50). *George Whalley, Coleridge and Sara Hutchinson, and the Asra Poems* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1955. xviii + 188 pp. \$4.50). "DID Wordsworth or Coleridge acclaim Donne?" enquired T. S. Eliot in *The Use of Poetry*. "No, when it came to Donne . . . you

will find that Wordsworth and Coleridge were led by the nose by Samuel Johnson; they were just as eighteenth century as anybody; except that where the eighteenth century spoke of lack of elegance the Lake poets found lack of passion." The reader of Professor Brinkley's anthology will come to the opposite conclusion. Coleridge compares Donne to Shakespeare, shows that Donne's meter comes right when you read the lines for the meaning and "discover the *Time* of each word by the sense of Passion," and gives a laudatory definition of Donne's wit that supplements the deficiencies of Dr. Johnson's. Coleridge also admired without reserve the poems of Donne we now most admire, including "The Sun Rising," "The Canonization," "The Ecstasy," and "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning"—in which, he says, "nothing was ever more admirably made out than the figure of the compass."

Coleridge's comments on the diverse intellectual and imaginative achievements of seventeenth-century writers substantiates his claim, in the *Biographia*, of the importance of "that race of giants" in helping him work his way out of the philosophy, divinity, and literature of the later eighteenth century. Great as his debt was to Kant, he felt, in the last analysis, a much closer affinity to the English "Platonizing divines" than to Kant's abstract and, as he saw, ultimately sceptical metaphysics. In the earlier reaction of idealism against seventeenth-century materialism he found both a parallel and model for the romantic reaction against the mechanical philosophy of the eighteenth century: as the Cambridge Platonists had stood to Descartes and Hobbes, so Kant stood to Hume, and Coleridge (after 1800) to Hartley. In prose style, Coleridge points out, his "aversion to the epigrammatic unconnected periods of the fashionable Anglo-gallican taste" led him to fashion his own writing on "the stately march and difficult evolutions" of Hooker, Bacon, Milton, and Jeremy Taylor. It can be added that in Coleridge's transition from the "gaudyverse" and Pindarics of his eighteenth-century poems to the diction and structure of "Frost at Midnight" and "Dejection," his chief exemplars were the verse meditations of the seventeenth-century religious poets, especially Herbert.

Professor Brinkley has collected Coleridge's comments on these writers from all their scattered origins, including letters, conversations, notebooks, and marginalia. She reproduces considerable unpublished material, and re-edits from manuscript most of the passages which H. N. Coleridge had tidied up for his edition of Coleridge's

Literary Remains. Of the parts into which this ample book is divided—including "Philosophy," "Science," "Literary Prose," "Poetry," "Drama"—only the section on "The Old Divines" had to be considerably curtailed for lack of space. There is one serious shortcoming in the management of this material. For a compilation such as this, a full index is indispensable to the user; but here the page-entries under proper names are incomplete, while the topical headings listed are far too few, and chosen without apparent rationale. "Free Will" and "Reason and Understanding" are included; but why not "Original Sin," "Imagination and Fancy," "Symbol," or "Prosody" (a subject, by the way, on which Coleridge's observations are particularly copious and interesting)?

The book, nonetheless, is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing shelf of Coleridge miscellanies, the *disjecta membra* of the all-inclusive *Magnum opus* he never got around to writing. The component sections are preceded by compact introductions, and for bonus, we are given a general introduction by Louis I. Bredvold which manages admirably to set the selections into the context not only of Coleridge's philosophy, but of present-day approaches to seventeenth-century literature and ideas.

George Whalley's *Coleridge and Sara Hutchinson* sets forth all we are ever likely to know of the somber course of Coleridge's love for Wordsworth's sister-in-law. The account in Thomas M. Raysor's fine article (1929), as supplemented by Ernest de Selincourt's publication of the "Letter to Asra" in 1937, remains substantially unchanged, but Professor Whalley has added details and filled in the background from all the available sources, including Kathleen Coburn's recent edition of *The Letters of Sara Hutchinson*. It becomes clear how utterly the relationship was doomed from the start, not only because of Coleridge's prior marriage, his physical infirmities, and the opium habit, but because of the characteristic processes of Coleridge's mind, acting on this experience under the pressure of his emotional and intellectual needs. For Coleridge forthwith sublimated the object of his love into a religio-metaphysical Idea from which, in his own words,

All look and likeness caught from earth,
All accident of kin and birth.
Had passed away.

"The best, the truly lovely," he wrote in his notebook, "in each and all is God. Therefore the truly Beloved is the symbol of God to

whomever it is truly beloved by." The Asra of Coleridge's poems and notebooks is no less remote from the bodily Sara Hutchinson—that dumpy, practical, sharp-tongued, humorous, and thoroughly admirable Pertelote of a woman—than Dante's Beatrice is from Bice Portinari.

To his biographical narrative Mr. Whalley has added an annotated transcript of the eleven poems by Coleridge in the manuscript booklet, "Sara Hutchinson's Poets." These include "A Soliloquy of the Full Moon," hitherto unpublished, an interesting addition to "Time Real and Imaginary," and variant versions of other poems; most of the contents were transcribed by Sara, but some parts are in Coleridge's own hand. Over half of his text Mr. Whalley devotes to still a third undertaking—the tracing of Coleridge's relations with Asra, as these have been "transmuted" into his poetry. One of the author's key assumptions is that "Sara's Poets"—although it opens with a comic soliloquy by a stubbornly anti-poetic moon, and contains none of the poems explicitly about Asra, and ends with a mordant political satire, "The Devil's Thoughts"—consists entirely of poems selected by Sara because, in some oblique fashion, they express aspects of Coleridge's feelings for her. The basic procedure is to posit the existence of a vocabulary of Asra-imagery, constituting a "dark web of memory and poetic symbolism," with which "poems not previously identified as Asra poems come into resonance." And the result is the sweeping discovery that "virtually all the poems [Coleridge] wrote after he met her fall within the scope of that single complex of feelings." This section of the volume seems to me cloudy and unconvincing. The method of converting recurrent imagery, on the sole basis of a conjunction in one or another context, into a fixed and invariable symbolic reference lacks empirical controls, and is capable of proving too much. Were they to be traced by a critic without the author's prepossession, such "symbolic centers" as the "moon image," the jasmine bower, the nightingale, and the "storm imagery" would serve to weave into the one pattern a great many of the poems Coleridge had written before he met Asra.

Whatever his difficulty in pinning down specific allusions, Professor Whalley does show the obsessive hold of Asra upon Coleridge's memory and imagination—

Sole voice, when other voices sleep,
Dear under-song in clamor's hour,

as Coleridge said, in one of the great love poems in the language.

His alienation from Asra was the central tragedy in the tragic life of a poet whose fate it was to remain, in Whalley's phrase, "inveterately gregarious, incurably alone."

Cornell University

M. H. ABRAMS

G. N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Uses of Adversity, 1811-1846* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1955. xv + 537 pp. \$7.00). MODERN biographers of the major Victorians enjoy the obvious advantage of distance; they may achieve a perspective on their subject and on the society to which he belonged, and their judgments of personality need not be inhibited by any fear of offending or embarrassing the artist's friends, enemies, or immediate relatives. Yet their work as a rule necessarily lacks the intimacy of the older "authorized biographies" which, though clearly partisan, could often draw upon letters and diaries now lost or destroyed and so remain important primary sources for later study and criticism. As the biographer of Thackeray, Gordon N. Ray is, exceptionally, able to be both distant and intimate; and he avails himself admirably of the opportunity. He writes at a considerable remove in time from the novelist's personal struggle, yet with the full untrammeling co-operation of Thackeray's heirs and a free access to private papers and family documents long withheld from public view. His *Thackeray: The Uses of Adversity*, the first volume of a two-part life, accordingly carries the authority of modern scholarship and the freshness of original documentation. It is clearly a definitive performance, on the strength of which must proceed all future appraisals of Thackeray's character and art.

Mr. Ray is especially skilful in recreating the vast Victorian background. According to the demands of his narrative, he supplies meticulous and vivid detail, as if from personal observation, concerning Charterhouse and Cambridge, life in Paris among the English expatriates, the circle of the rowdy William Maginn, the quarrels of the *Punch* staff. He describes with insight and sympathy Thackeray's affection for his too-possessive mother and his tragic marriage to the unhappy Isabella Shawe. By deftly varying his tempo and shifting his focus, he manages to sustain interest in Thackeray's many abortive efforts to find himself as a man and in his repeatedly thwarted desire to achieve success as a novelist. In measuring the overall proportions of the biography, I should question only the

excessively circumstantial chronicle of Thackeray's ancestry, though I can understand the impulse to account with some care for "the three generations that made a gentleman."

The concept of the gentleman is indeed central to Mr. Ray's interpretation of the solid data he presents. If his book has a single unifying thesis, it is that Thackeray is essentially "a great moralist" comparable to Carlyle and that he "attained this high position among his contemporaries by redefining the gentlemanly ideal to fit a middle-class rather than an aristocratic context." But Carlyle, according to Thackeray's specifications—and perhaps according to ours,—could hardly have been a gentleman at all; and neither Thackeray nor Mr. Ray, so far as I can see, establishes, except in a very loose way, an identification of the gentlemanly ideal with the moral vision. In the Victorian period itself Newman made a cogent distinction between the two: the gentleman as such, aware of the relativity of reasons, receives men and ideas passively with tolerance, patience, and withheld judgment; the moral man—and presumably the moralist—makes his moral choice and acts by faith and principle with conviction and commitment. Whether or not Thackeray was too limited intellectually to satisfy Newman's requirements for the gentleman (he had, as Mr. Ray tells us, a "strange incapacity for abstract thought"), he was surely too ambivalent emotionally to develop any very positive moral attitude. He avoided self-analysis, and he turned what he must have felt to be a gentlemanly irony against his own sentiment. He averted his gaze from whole segments of society; though he was dimly aware of its existence, to him "the world of the poor was a *terra incognita*." He cared little for politics or humanitarian action; and his distrust of radicalism arose partly from his desire not to disturb a comfortable status quo, where some could "lead an easy life," and partly from his sincere dislike of ungentlemanly radicals like Douglas Jerrold of *Punch*. Even his compulsive gambling, I think, should be understood as a pathetic effort to escape the burden of responsibility and the tedium of life. At any rate, whatever his status as moralist, the morality of his greatest novel is at best negative: there are no heroes and no unmixed human motives, and all material success is ultimately illusion. *Vanity Fair*, after all, depicts no great moral decisions or crises; and its emphasis is far more dramatic than it is ethical.

But despite what seems to me an overemphasis on Thackeray the moralist, Mr. Ray does not ignore the aesthetic value of the novels.

Convinced that "biography and criticism should go hand in hand," he explores the extent to which Thackeray's writings reflect his personal experience. Though he might perhaps remind us more forcibly of the differences between the art and the life, he demonstrates the firm rooting in actuality of the fictional world, and once again as in his earlier study *The Buried Life*, he proves himself most adroit at tracing the originals of many of Thackeray's characters. It is right and proper that Mr. Ray should extend every sympathy to his subject. Yet I cannot but feel that he sometimes values so highly the intentions of the man that he tends to overestimate the effects of the artist. To say that Dobbin of *Vanity Fair* represents Thackeray's redefined gentleman is not to prove that Dobbin is a vital or effective *dramatis persona*; and to argue that Amelia, though "pale and monotonous," was "particularly dear to her creator" does not remove the suspicion that Thackeray himself on occasion undercuts his feminine ideal with a quite destructive romantic irony. Mr. Ray sees *Vanity Fair* as "the classic moment of English realism" and remarks that George Eliot, James, and Conrad—all of whom, he believes, may be accused of over-elaboration—"used this method to enable readers through their fiction better to understand themselves and the lives they are leading." We may agree that Thackeray's attitude possibly influenced later major novelists; yet we may ask whether their "method" of analysis, of dramatizing consciousness, is not essentially different in kind. Mr. Ray, however, seldom forces critical judgments upon us. And our question itself is no more than a measure of the degree to which he has quickened our interest in a reconsideration of Thackeray's achievement. His final purpose is to provide as complete a biography as may be necessary to an understanding of the artist's relation to his art; and this end he abundantly accomplishes.

Columbia University

JEROME HAMILTON BUCKLEY

Robert Louis Stevenson, *Silverado Journal*, ed. John E. Jordan (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1954. lxxii + 95 pp.). FOR years devoted researchers have been assembling every sort of detail about Stevenson's life in various parts of the world, the backgrounds from which his books emerged; but the actual process of their composition has remained somewhat vague. His collected letters which

appeared half a century ago were so discreetly edited that they did not tell the full story, and we are still awaiting the full edition that is promised by Professor Bradford Booth. Meanwhile, in the past two years some revealing documents have been made public. Mrs. Stevenson's diary of their Samoan years has brought us much closer to the context in which his final stories were composed; and the diary of his honeymoon in California, the basis of *The Silverado Squatters*, has been edited by Professor John E. Jordan. The background of that book was previously illuminated by Mrs. Anne Roller Issler's *Stevenson at Silverado* and *Our Mountain Hermitage*, exhaustive collections of local records and the memories of old inhabitants, and now the actual inception of the book has been fully displayed.

The *Silverado Journal*, issued in a limited edition by the Book Club of California, is a sumptuous piece of book-making. The text of the manuscript, which is in the Huntington Library, is printed on wide-margined quarto pages, the lines widely spaced, with all Stevenson's corrections inserted in red. His careless spelling and punctuation are scrupulously retained.

An unwary reader might assume that this is entirely new material. Only a brief statement in the preliminary "acknowledgments" mentions that "parts of the Journal . . . were first published in the Vailima and South Seas editions of Stevenson's works." One wishes that the editor's introduction had indicated how much of the journal was there printed and how dependable that text is.

Otherwise, the introduction is extremely thorough. It occupies almost half of the volume and discusses every aspect of the journal and its relation to the published book, as well as its intermediate form as a serial in the *Century*. An unpublished letter to his mother is also included, and three other unpublished letters from the Beinecke collection are quoted in part.

The introduction sometimes strays somewhat far from the subject in hand. As the book is unlikely to be used by any except Stevenson specialists, there is little point in the rather self-consciously casual identifications of his parents and of Henley, Gosse, and Colvin, or the rhetorical questions summarizing his early career, or the later digression about W. D. Howells. Nor can one enjoy some of Professor Jordan's overcrowded sentences, such as "His uneasiness was to last until May 19, 1880, when he at last stood up in the parlor of the Reverend Doctor William A. Scott's San Francisco Post Street home and took the finally divorced Frances Van de Grift Osbourne as his

wife." But once the editor comes to grips with his subject his treatment is intelligent and useful. He brings out how central *The Silverado Squatters* is in Stevenson's work: a culmination of the love for the outdoors that characterized his first travel books and his poems, and a forecast of the mingling of realistic detail and romantic atmosphere that was to be the hall-mark of his fiction.

The main value of this book, however, will be for the study of Stevenson's style. Here we have an unusual opportunity for observing two types of revision: the changing of words and phrases during the original writing of the journal, and then the more artistic rewriting that Stevenson gave it in the next three years while turning it into a publishable book. Professor Jordan treats this latter process thoroughly, both by offering parallel passages from the two versions and by suggesting reasons for the omissions and rephrasings.

Duke University

LIONEL STEVENSON

Thomas H. Johnson, *Emily Dickinson, An Interpretive Biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1955. viii + 276 pp. \$4.50). I admire this biography's perceptive interpretation of the poetic theory and of particular poems of Emily Dickinson. I incline, however, to value it more for another reason. In it we see this poetess, of a very high order, more clearly than ever before in her unusual relationships with people in the actual world: her family, her friends, and the respectable, but uncomprehending figures of her day, such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Helen Hunt Jackson. "Helen of Troy will die," said Emily, "but Helen of Colorado, never."

Everyone is familiar with the stories about Emily Dickinson's refusals to meet and talk normally even with close friends. Mabel Loomis Todd, who played the piano for her, never once saw her, and Samuel Bowles, whom she respected deeply, called upstairs to her (so runs the story): "Emily, you wretch! No more of this nonsense! I've traveled all the way from Springfield to see you. Come down at once." Though she was not devoid of self-dramatization, such withdrawals were compelled by the incredible intensity of her emotional responses to other personalities. Knowing these face to face could be acutely painful to her, and it must be added, to them. Without understanding it, many friends were frightened by the intensity

of her spirit. She would anticipate the joy of seeing friends, but the encounter itself was too hard upon her nerves. Hence her illuminating line: "To seek enchantment, one must always flee."

Perhaps this flight to an absolute, this concept of friendship as emblem, "an occult experience," as Mr. Johnson calls it, would have found sympathy in our more sophisticated twentieth century society; one can think of poets who would have understood Emily Dickinson's metaphysical terrain. Higginson and Mrs. Jackson, both representatives of a literature which was aggressively lucid and cheerfully empty, never understood any of Emily Dickinson's "occult" experiences or the poetry which recorded them in immortal stanzas.

There is something a little touching about the worthy Higginson's mystification. From the first he thought her eccentric, and at the end, after her funeral, he referred to her as "that rare and strange creature." He applied to her the standards of his extrovert world, but was unhappy about the results. He felt constantly and obscurely that he was somehow near greatness, especially on that historic meeting in Amherst, in August, 1870.

A step like a pattering child's in entry & in glided a little plain woman with two smooth bands of reddish hair . . . in a very plain and exquisitely clean white piqué & a blue net worsted shawl. She came to me with two day lilies, which she put in a sort of childlike way into my hand and said "These are my introduction" in a soft frightened breathless voice.

The interview was (to quote Captain Hunt of her in another connection) "uncanny," but Higginson acknowledged it to have been a "remarkable experience, quite equalling my expectations."

We must remember that Emily Dickinson (not Higginson) initiated this relationship. She sent him her poems, and repeatedly sought his advice. She called him her "safest friend." At first it is difficult to see why. She had charted her course in a world of spirit and of artistic creation which were entirely her own, and into which he never penetrated. She had selected her own "society,"—and closed the door. Yet her outstretched hand toward Higginson is as moving as his baffled search for her real identity.

For sometimes a terrible loneliness must have beaten her down. There is indeed evidence of this in the poetry. Although she paid little heed to Higginson's practical wisdom, he was always there, still her "safest friend." Probably the same inner need accounts for her admiration for the cheerful, impetuous author of *Ramona*. On her side, Mrs. Jackson, too, was puzzled by Emily's remoteness. "I felt,"

she said, "like a great ox talking to a white moth." Mr. Johnson's chapters on the world of public letters in Emily Dickinson's time not only tell us of its limitations, but also emphasize by contrast her poetic life. She continued to respect her "safe" friends, but not their aims in literature. Toward these she suggests her point of view clearly in her comment on the best selling poems of Joaquin Miller: "Transport," she says, "is not urged!"

She had no intention of destroying the "transport" of her inner life by entry into the actual world. That she did truly live in her own world of "transport" and of "enchantment" explains really all her other human relationships (as well as her poetry). Entering into her point of view, we have an opportunity to understand her communion with her father or with the Reverend Charles Wadsworth, who appears prominently in this biography. Mr. Johnson rejects wisely the "fantasy" that he proposed elopement. For, "to her," he says, "it was a basic necessity that he continue in all ways to be exactly the image of him that she had created." This is it. In a sense her intimacies were with the "images" of persons rather than the persons themselves.

From this distillation of experience, which Higginson and Mrs. Jackson did not understand, came also her eccentricities (as they seemed in the everyday world), her histrionics, and those poems which seem so frankly erotic. Like her images of Calvary or of an Empress, they are emanations from her own special universe. Everything she says or does or writes has its source in "a liquor never brewed" or in her "onset with Eternity." It is impossible to judge fairly either her life or her poetry without this premise.

Yale University

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

J. A. Sheard, *The Words We Use* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954. 344 pp. \$4.50). GROWING out of a series of lectures to first-year students taking Honours in English Language and Literature at King's College, London, *The Words We Use* is an account of our English word stock and its sources. The author has limited the scope of his work "to include only words which have been accepted in standard dictionaries, or which, if not yet accepted, have so wide a currency that they merit attention" (p. 11). Read "listed" or "recorded" for "accepted" in the passage just cited, and no one

could quarrel with such a limitation. Later on, Dr. Sheard defines *vocabulary* "in its widest sense" as referring "not only to all the words in an authoritative dictionary, but also to those which have not yet found acceptance, yet are in common use in polite circles" (pp. 11-12). Many scholars will disagree with this assumption that the "widest sense" of *vocabulary* excludes words not recorded in "authoritative dictionaries" and words in use only in impolite circles.

After an introduction dealing with the processes of vocabulary development—by derivation, ablaut, umlaut, compounding, conversion, semantic change, and borrowing—Sheard proceeds to illustrate these phenomena at greater length in his opening chapter. Following are chapters on the common, i. e. Germanic, heritage; the OE vocabulary (including the Latin items); the Scandinavian and Norman influences; the Renaissance; the influence of exploration, colonization, and trade; the seventeenth century and after; and a final chapter "Profit and Loss," which is a brief, generalizing survey of the present position of the English vocabulary.

Although the general impression left by *The Words We Use* is favorable, there are a good many shortcomings which one could wish had not occurred in so amiable a book. There is, for instance, the author's occasional treatment of writing habits as if they were actually linguistic criteria, as in his discussion of compounding and the use of prefixes like *pro* and *anti*, where he seems to regard the hyphen as an important linguistic phenomenon. This is of course nonsense: hyphenation varies considerably between British and American usage, as well as to some extent between individuals; indeed, as every editor well knows, there may be considerable inconsistency in the usage of a single writer. The principle of compounding is in no way involved, for instance, when Sheard himself writes *weekend* (p. 62) and *teenager* (p. 12), which many of us would write *week-end* and *teen-ager*. Referring to such compounds as *blackbird*, *pocketbook*, and *workman*, Sheard declares that "the elements have been fused, making one word, but in some cases the elements may be joined by a hyphen, e. g. *air-raid*, *dug-out*, *lamp-shade*, *lean-to*" (p. 61). Of these examples, aesthetic considerations would militate against *airraid* (as also against *icecream* and *noone*) and perhaps against *leanto*. But the fact that most Americans would write *dugout* in contrast to British *dug-out* in no way affects the linguistic principles underlying compounding. Intonation and stress, rather than an inconsistently used written symbol, indicate whether or not the elements have been fused; and

to suggest otherwise, as Sheard does, is to put the cart before the horse. It is obvious, from what he himself says of the inconsistency in the use of the hyphen (pp. 68-69), that Sheard knows better; yet even here there is an apparent confusion of writing with speech.

Some detailed comments follow:

- P. 26 It is unlikely that we can validly infer that "a subtle difference between the French and German character is to be seen in some of the recently imported words of German origin, connected with what we may term the coarser articles of food, such as *frankfurter*, *hamburger*, *lager*, *pretzel*, and *sauerkraut*, as against the more refined delicacies of French origin." What of *liebfraumilch*, *liederkranz*, *hock*, and *Wiener schnitzel*—are these coarse?
- P. 57 As Harold Wentworth has shown (*PMLA*, LVI, 280-306), the suffix *-dom* is by no means dead: he has a long list of coinages with *-dom* occurring since 1800. Although some of these may not have received the sanction of an "authoritative dictionary," all would doubtless be used unhesitatingly in those polite circles to which Dr. Sheard has referred. Certainly such words as *Nazidom*, *gang(ster)dom*, *boredom*, and *officialdom* are not to be relegated to the realm of "the freakish, the idiosyncratic, the bizarre, the obscure, the provincial, and the vestigial."
- P. 60 It is hardly accurate to say that nowadays "there is a good deal of difference between *disinterested* and *uninterested*," desirable as such a distinction might seem to be. More and more, in American English at least, the former word, which used to mean 'impartial, unprejudiced,' is coming to be used as a synonym of the latter, 'not interested.' This semantic coalescence is not confined, alas for us of the faction to the right, to illiterate or semilliterate usage.
- P. 75 Dr. Sheard's wonderment at the absence of *bot* (for *botanical gardens*) by analogy with *zoo* will appear naive to his more unregenerate readers. It may be true that "both words are equally convenient, and it may be that *zoo* has a better sound than *bot*" (to whom?); but it is also obvious that prudery would operate powerfully against *bot* on both sides of the Atlantic, just as it has operated against *bum* in England. It is highly likely that the word would arouse juvenile risibilities, and especially English ones, with its suggestion of the nursery word *botty*.
- P. 86 Of the horrible "American" examples of back-formation cited (*emote*, *peeve*, *orate*, *frivol*) only *peeve* would be used otherwise than facetiously. *Peeve* has probably found more favor in British English than Dr. Sheard suspects, especially in the participial form *peevied*.
- P. 88 There can be no further question of the derivation of *lynch* from Captain William Lynch of Virginia, as the late Albert Matthews and Sir William Craigie have incontrovertibly demonstrated. Cf. *DAE*, citations *s. v.* *lynch law* and *Lynch's law*.

- P. 100 Some of the examples of "unchanged vowels" in Latin and English cognates hold up only so far as writing is concerned. To cite Latin *ad* and English *at*, *ager* and *acre*, *pater* and *father* as indicating "unchanged vowels" is quite misleading. Not one of these words had in OE the same vowel as its Latin cognate; as far as NE is concerned, only the vowel of *father* resembles qualitatively (though different quantitatively) that of its Latin cognate, and the [a:] of *father* is a comparatively recent development.
- P. 103 In the sentence "In this group are to be found practically all the modern European languages, and, in addition, Celtic, Sanskrit, Persian, Russian, Armenian, and Albanian," it is obvious that Dr. Sheard has not said what he intended to say.
- P. 180 *Hale* is not a Scandinavian loan-word, but the Northern English development of OE *hāl*.
- P. 240 *Reason/ration* are incorrectly cited as doublets from French and Latin respectively. *Reason* entered English by way of OF; *ration* [ræfən] 'allowance of food given to a soldier' is a much later borrowing from French. It is possible, though most improbable, that Sheard has in mind here the form [refən], a rather rare variant of *ratio*, which, as indicated by its traditional pronunciation, is indeed a Latin loan-word. French *ration* is nowadays frequently pronounced [refən], by a mistaken analogy with Latin-derived *nation* and *station*. (See K. Malone, "Ration," *American Speech*, XVIII, 128-130.)
- P. 260 The statement "If we now move to the present day we find our English and American scientists still using a common vocabulary, but the language of the literary men has changed considerably" is open to a great deal of doubt. It is, in fact, contradicted by Sheard himself on p. 286: "The differences [between British and American English] are to be found rather in colloquial and easy language than in the literary language: there is no difficulty for an American in reading an English book, or for an Englishman in reading an American book, unless a great deal of use is made of colloquial language, or of words denoting natural features."
- P. 266 It is misleading to say that *hemp*, from OE *henep* with syncopation and assimilative change of *n* to *m*, was "borrowed from the Semitic languages before the end of the Middle English period." The fact that the word occurs with shifted consonants as in English, in the other Germanic languages shows that, regardless of its ultimate source, it is a very early Germanic loan from Latin *cannabis* (itself from Greek).

Dr. Sheard has been unfortunate in his choice of illustrative quotations, as anyone who quotes Ernest Weekley as a linguistic authority is likely to be: for instance, Weekley's silly and somewhat condescending judgment that "the American speaks American—a crisp, virile, colourful language, full of copious possibilities—and

writes English which he really does not really [*sic* as quoted] understand" (p. 286). He also quotes Weekley's unhappy judgment as to the indispensability of *sob-stuff*, which has, as a matter of fact, gone the way of the silent films and *twenty-three skiddoo*, although *sob sister* is still with us. It was bad luck, too, that Sheard should have given the date of the coining of *Americanism* as 1784 (p. 288), an error probably stemming from a misprint in A. C. Baugh's *History of the English Language*, p. 422. (Elsewhere, on pp. 432 and 454, Baugh gives the correct date, 1781.)

Dr. Sheard states that "a complete list [of Americanisms which have established themselves in the general vocabulary] has never been compiled" (p. 289), which is probably true enough, completeness in this respect being partly a matter of definition and partly an unattainable lexicological ideal. But it comes as something of a shock when he proceeds to cite Thornton's *American Glossary* of 1912, "which contains several thousand dated quotations of Americanisms, yet is far from complete"—just as if the *Dictionary of American English* and Mathews's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, both of them far more nearly "complete" than Thornton's work, had never been. There is, indeed, some reason to believe that Sheard is not even aware that the *DAE* has been published: see his statement on p. 285 that "*The Historical Dictionary of American English* [*sic*] will provide the material for answers to these problems," i. e., "the many differences in meaning of the same words on the two sides of the Atlantic." "Will provide" seems to indicate an unawareness of the present accessibility of the work in question, which has been providing such material for more than a decade now.

It should be pointed out, incidentally, that *The Words We Use* is not a reprint of a much earlier work—a fact which would dissipate some of the strictures of this review; some quite recent works are referred to in the text and in the notes, e. g., the Partridge and Clark *British and American English Since 1900* (1951), cited as an authoritative work on American English. The other authorities cited are H. L. Mencken and G. P. Krapp; but Dr. Sheard did not avail himself of the fourth edition (1936) of *The American Language*, "corrected, enlarged, and rewritten"; he was content to use the third edition of 1923, a much inferior work. The date of Krapp's *The English Language in America* (1925) is given as 1936.

Even with the limitations which its author has imposed upon himself, *The Words We Use* is a work of very large scope. Sheard's

selection of materials has been wise and his judgments are for the most part sound. He has the gift of popularization, and his style, marred occasionally by "freight-train" sentences (he would doubtless say "goods-train") is on the whole pleasant and urbane. It was inevitable that inaccuracy and error should have crept into a book covering so much ground. Nevertheless, the students who listened to the lectures from which the book grew must surely have profited greatly by the wealth of word lore at Dr. Sheard's command; and so, it is hoped, will the general reader.

University of Florida

THOMAS PYLES

Alexander Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Fascicles 4 and 5 (Bern: A. Francke ag. Verlag., 1954. 481-800 pp.).

THE first three fascicles of this work were reviewed by me in the May, 1954, number of this journal. I shall refer the reader there for my general criticisms of both the form and the content of this work. These two fascicles (issued as one) continue to merit the same reservations concerning their usefulness which I voiced there. The author has, of course, continued his arrangement of the materials under so-called Indo-European roots, following the order used in Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes indog. Wörterbuch*. This issue contains the rest of the dental stops (beginning with the conclusion of *demā-*), the labial stops, the nasals, *r*, *l*, and *s* (beginning 2 *syep-*, Walde-P. II, 524). I understand that some three more fascicles are intended to conclude the work.

A complete and useful review of this work would take many pages of print, since, in order to do it competently almost every Germanic dialect would need the detailed study that Professor Kemp Malone has devoted particularly to the English references in his reviews in *Language* 28. 527-33; 30. 528-44. There is hardly a caption that does not call for comment, criticism, or revision. I shall, therefore, content myself with a few remarks on scattered points which are merely indicative of the type of thorough-going check to which the material as a whole should be subjected:

P. 510, ll. 7-5 from bottom: the relation (if any) of Skt. *ahar* 'day' to the Germanic words for 'day' is not made clear, nor is there any discussion of the phonological problems involved which makes the derivation of *dagr*, etc., from **dhogʰos* uncertain (i. e.,

the development of labiovelars before *o-* in Germanic, cf. Lane, JEGPh. xxxv, 17 ff., esp. 25). P. 516, 2. *dher-* gives an example of the confusion which arises from arranging the vocabulary of a modern language under roots. No doubt the unwary or the uninitiated will quote *drengr* 'young man' as cognate with *dróttinn* 'lord, prince,' but close examination will reveal how tenuous the connection is and how it must be derived by way of different root extensions. From the point of view of Icelandic etymology such a connection, if indeed valid, is hardly worth consideration. P. 535, 1. *peig-*, *peik-*: remarkable is the first entry *pél* 'file,' and even of the other Germanic words like *OE féol*, *fíl*, etc., when the clearest etymological connection is between *fá* 'paint, color,' and Skt. *piñcāti* 'adorn, etc.' (so read for *pimcāti*; what IE **pi(n)c-* means, I don't know!). Page 583 ff.: the author has kept without reserve many of W.-P.'s roots in *b-* and added a few of his own. In the matter of the reflexes of *b* in Germanic, the author is unconcerned whether it is *f* (*fífl* 'giant,' p. 584), *b* (*babba* 'chatter,' p. 583, *bumba* 'drum,' *baula* 'bellow,' etc., often) or *p*. However in this he has Pokorny's precedent. We are for the most part in such words dealing with onomatopoeia or expressive epithets. It is difficult and dangerous to establish etymological connections between them even among closely related languages, foolish to attempt it for Indo-European as a whole.

I have covered only a little over one hundred pages, and that in a most desultory fashion. For what I have omitted and for the rest, let me say only: caveat lector!

University of North Carolina

GEORGE S. LANE

Alexander Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 6, 7 (Bern: A. Francke, 1955. 801-1120 pp.). THE preceding fascicles of this work have been reviewed by me already in this journal. I refer in particular to the review of fascicles one and two in *MLN* 69 (1954), pp. 357-60 for my general comments on and criticisms of the work as a whole, in particular as they regard the conception by the author of what an etymological dictionary of Icelandic should be, and how the materials should be ordered. There has been no change of that conception and arrangement—as, indeed, once begun, there could not be.

The present fascicles contain "roots" *suem-* through *slrg-* (pp.

801-933). That is, it finishes the etymological dictionary of the Indo-European "Erbgut" in Icelandic as the author conceives it, all arranged, as far as possible, according to the "Walde-Pokornian" roots. With page 935 begins an "Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der wichtigsten Lehnwörter im Isländischen" (*abbadís—ponta*).

Again, as before, to give a detailed review and criticism of the etymologies offered in the first part, in particular as they concern more distant Indo-European "Wurzelverwandtschaft," would be a task which I am loath to undertake and which, in any case, would be far more lengthy than the pages of this journal could afford.

First, a few remarks on the earlier part: P. 804, s. v. 3. *suer-*: It seems doubtful to me that Grk. *ἔρκος* 'enclosure' and *ὄρκος* 'oath' (if indeed to be themselves etymologically connected) are to be derived from such a root. Surely, if so, there would be evidence somewhere, in Homer or elsewhere, for digamma. P. 805, s. v. *suerbh-*, read Grk. *σὺρβᾶξ*. P. 806, s. v. 3. *suel-*: The etymological connection between *svalr* 'cold,' etc., and *svæla* 'smoke,' LG *swöl* 'hot, sultry' has always seemed suspect to me, and on semantic grounds, certainly has no claim to prominence in an Icelandic, or even a Germanic etymological dictionary. P. 813, s. v. (*S*)*q^ualo-s* (end): The possibility that *hvalr* is a loan word from Finnish is still worth mentioning. P. 841, line 10 ff.: If loanwords are separated from "Erbgut," why is *skrifa*, entered here? No word could be more clearly a borrowing (as the author indicates). P. 843, line 10: I am not familiar with Engl. *shrimpy* except as 'containing or like shrimps.' I do know *scrimpy* from *scrimp*, probably a Scand. loanword. P. 851, caption (and below in text), read *sq^uel-* (for *squel-*). It is difficult to derive the forms in *u* (*ú*). P. 869, on the interpretation of Goth. *stabeis* 'στοιχεία, elements,' cf. *Phil. Quart.* 12. 231 ff., and Feist, *Got. etym.* Wtb. s. v. P. 888, passim: All the entries with initial *p-* give cause for hesitation, not only on account of the '(erst germ.) fehlen von s-,' but also on account of their semantic variety: *píra* 'blink; separate in small bits,' *pjara* 'patch,' *písa* 'cut in small pieces,' *pjasi* 'small, lazy man,' etc.

So much for isolated remarks. No doubt the reader will find others of similar sort to make over the same material and in the remaining pages. To turn now to the "Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der wichtigsten Lehnwörter im Isländischen," pp. 935 ff.

Here the author is embarrassed again by his decision to separate "Erbgut" from "Lehnwort." He is forced to make a decision. Of

course where the borrowing is obvious there is no embarrassment. But what about such moot words as *api* 'ape,' *bátr* 'boat,' *bjöð* 'land, earth,' *blý* 'lead,' *dálkr* 'fibula,' *epli* 'apple,' *læknir* 'doctor,' and many more?

Under loanwords too are placed perfectly good Icelandic words which the author feels have their particular meaning by borrowing from other Scandinavian languages or through them from German or elsewhere: *bók* 'book,' *brauð* 'bread,' *lofa* 'praise,' and especially compounds like *afguð* 'idol,' *afhýða* 'flay,' *afsetjá* 'depose,' *eðalmaðr* 'nobleman,' *lofsöngur* 'song of praise,' or derivatives like *eðliligr* 'noble,' and so on and so on.

In such fashion almost the entire technical and cultural vocabulary would have to be placed in this section, or else omitted entirely; cf. for instance, the compounds of *-fræði* '-logy,' in *málfræði* 'philology,' *líffræði* 'physiology,' *guðfræði* 'theology,' *sálarfræði* 'psychology,' etc., or the derivatives and compounds of derivatives of *mennt* 'education,' e. g. *menta* 'educate,' *mentaður* 'educated,' *mentaskóli* 'gymnasium (Germ. sense),' *bókmentir* 'literature,' etc. The fact is that *mennt* in the older language meant 'art, skill' and the meaning 'education' is a neologism, yet 'Ausbildung' is the only meaning given by the author p. 666 where the word is entered under the root *men-* as "Erbgut." On page 770, *sími* is entered (under *sēi-*, etc.) as 'Band.' I shall be interested to learn if the author enters it again under "loanwords" as 'telephone (= *tálsími*),' and 'telegraph (= *ritsími*).' It is, of course, for the purposes of an etymological dictionary, just as well to omit all these neologisms either in meaning, derivation or composition, but I cannot understand the author's basis for exclusion and inclusion in this part of his work. I am glad that the question of selection was not incumbent upon me.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE S. LANE

Eleanor L. Turnbull, ed., *Ten Centuries of Spanish Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. 452 pp. \$5.00). MISS Turnbull has already made sensitive translations of much modern Spanish poetry, notably that of Pedro Salinas. In this volume, she completes a task of greater scope: an anthology of Spanish poems in translation from the eleventh century to the generation of 1898. The general plan and the selections were the work of Salinas, who was to have written the

introductions, and after his death Miss Turnbull carried on the anthology as a memorial to him.

The poems are divided into sections headed "Primitive Epoch," "XVth Century," "Renaissance," "The Baroque Period," "Romanticism" and "Generation of 1898," a grouping that suggests a certain confusion of criteria. In the early period it is pleasant to see some of the 'jarchas,' those jewels of Romance lyric poetry, appearing for the first time in a popular anthology, in soberly effective translations by Miss Turnbull. More space should have been given to the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and perhaps to the *Libro de Buen Amor*. Certainly these works suffer more than most from very short extracts. There is an unhackneyed selection of poems from the *Cancioneros*, but minor Golden Age poets are not represented. In compensation, there is a generous showing of the varieties of style of Herrera, a poet too often quoted only in his martial odes. Meléndez Valdés alone appears in the eighteenth century and the Duque de Rivas and Zorrilla are omitted from among the Romantics. The gap between Espronceda and Unamuno is spanned only by the lyrics of Bécquer. No modern or contemporary poets are included later than the 'generation of 1898,' and under this heading Unamuno and Antonio Machado are somewhat strangely linked with Juan Ramón Jiménez. It will be seen that the selection is exclusive; in no sense does the continuous flow of Spanish poetry become evident.

The introductions to the individual poets have been compiled from Salinas' *Reality and the Poet in Spanish Poetry*, together with manuscripts left by him and notes taken by students at lecture courses. The result is not satisfactory: the introductions do not supply either the factual information a new reader of Spanish poetry would require nor the fresh insights an experienced one might expect from Salinas. Condensation has made clichés or misleading catch-phrases out of the viewpoints he elaborated at length in the book mentioned (Lope de Vega as a "precursor of modernism" with a "great deal of the romantic in him"; Fray Luis de León as the "long-suffering saint").

An anthology of this nature must raise the question of purpose and value. The foreword states the former as being "to make known to the people of this country who do not read Spanish the fine poetry of his (Salinas') native land." This aim assumes that the translation will convey an effect equivalent to that of the original. Yet even with the Spanish on the opposite page, one may hardly realize that, say, John Pierrepont Rice's 'Let me walk alone where breaks the sea,' is

the same poem as Góngora's 'La más bella niña / de nuestro lugar.' The *traductor* is not always a conscious *traidor*, but though he may render painstakingly sense and verse-form, the irrepressible ictus of the English stress-foot may still betray him. A salutary example is Longfellow's version of the 'Coplas' of Jorge Manrique, here included, where the metrical pattern of the Spanish that so perfectly matches form to thought becomes in the English a trivial sequence of tripping iambic feet. Style is another pitfall, particularly in early poetry, where the pseudo-poetic inversion, the 'trows' and 'wots,' 'an ifs' and 'by my fays,' hold sway. A comparison of the 'letrilla,' 'Con el viento murmuraran,' translated by Ada Marshall Johnson with respect for the spirit of the original, and the following 'Fertiliza tu vega, / dichoso Tormes,' in the version of James Young Gibson, points the moral of a timeless diction in translation. Only occasionally does it happen that the style of the translator's period happens to have some analogy to that of the original, as in Mrs. Hemans' almost perfect translation of Quevedo's 'A Roma sepultada en sus ruinas.' Complicated stanza forms offer special problems. The poetic effect of Garcilaso's First Eclogue is inherent in the combination of hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines with their echoing rhymes. Wiffen's version, in unequal strophes of iambic pentameters, with a loose rhyme system, is intolerably flat and cloying. Miss Turnbull herself bravely essays the heroic odes of Herrera, but the martial clangor of the Spanish, disciplined in a strict verse-form, is empty in a freer English rendering. An anthology of translated poetry such as this must necessarily be uneven in quality, judged on poetic worth alone.

Considered as a collection of translations, the book offers a fascinating variety. Whole chapters of Hispanism are evoked: the Garcilaso of J. H. Wiffen; the Spanish ballads translated by Byron and Lockhart; the versions of Ticknor and Longfellow; Luis de León and San Juan de la Cruz in the translations of Aubrey Bell and Allison Peers; Edward Wilson's *Soledades*. Often a single poet or genre can be considered in the varied styles of different translators. It is a convenience in itself to have these translations gathered together in one volume.

A number of misprints disfigure the book: Ray Campbell (p. ix), lovlier (p. 371), and some unidiomatic forms in the introductions reflect an over-close translation of the Spanish: 'highest and most inflamed mystical poetry' (p. 192); 'genial playwright' (p. 126).

But taken as a whole, this new anthology of translations is an interesting and attractive collection.

Radcliffe College

AUDREY LUMSDEN-KOUELV

Denis Diderot, *Correspondance*, ed. Georges Roth, I (1713-1757) (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1955. 278 pp. 990 fr.). M. ROTH is already known to aficionados of the eighteenth century for his valuable edition of the *Pseudo-Mémoires de Madame d'Épinay*. His competence as an editor is demonstrated once again in this new edition of Diderot's correspondence. He has established the text by a careful examination of the originals, a task made possible—or at least greatly facilitated—by the fact that the Fonds Vandeul, rediscovered and inventoried by Professor Dieckmann, is now catalogued and available to researchers at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In addition, he has interlarded the letters with a great deal of valuable and documented biographical information; and by his principle of arranging the letters in strict chronological sequence (instead of in separate sub-collections according to the identity of the recipients, as all previous editions of Diderot's letters have done), he makes it possible for scholars to study more systematically the development of Diderot's ideas and the totality of his relationship to friends and environment. This is an advantage which will become even more apparent in succeeding volumes, the letters in this first one being chronologically rather scattered. In short, it is unquestionable that the Roth edition supersedes all previous ones.

Volume I contains 77 items, of which eight are open "Letters" printed in Diderot's lifetime in connection with his various publications. In addition, the appendix consists of two rare pamphlets of 1751 regarding the *Encyclopédie*. Of the 69 items of private correspondence, two (nos. 30 and 51) were previously unknown and unpublished; both of them were probably addressed by Diderot to the publisher Le Breton, the first about February 1751, the second about the middle of 1755. Also previously unpublished is a note (no. 45) from Chancellor Lamoignon to Malesherbes, July 12, 1754. In addition, a very important paragraph regarding Mme Diderot in Diderot's letter of Aug. 25, 1752 to Mme Caroillon La Salette, omitted by André Babelon from his edition of the *Correspondance inédite* (2 vols., Paris, 1931), is here published for the first time

(no. 37); as well as the graceful concluding lines, omitted in the Assézat-Tourneux edition (xix, p. 427) and not hitherto known, of Diderot's note to La Condamine, Dec. 16, 1752 (no. 39). Moreover, M. Roth has redated two of the letters published in the Babelon edition mentioned above: one (Roth, pp. 200-201), to Mme Caroillon La Salette, should be dated Dec. 29 instead of Dec. 20, 1755; the other (no. 48), to M. Caroillon La Salette, should be dated January 1755 instead of October 10, 1755. This latter emendation allows one to make sense of a situation which had previously seemed quite inscrutable.

Typographical slips are rare in this volume. For the personage called "Boni" (p. 55), read "Bonin." On p. 109, for Feb. 18, 1757, read Feb. 18, 1751; and the quotation from Raynal on p. 117 is not accurately transcribed. Now and again M. Roth asserts something as a fact which he does not substantiate. What is his evidence, for instance, for saying that Diderot met Rousseau in April 1742 (cf. Courtois, *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, xv, pp. 35-36), and at the Café de la Régence, to boot (p. 27)? Why is he so sure that the Letter to Landois "fut écrite à l'occasion" of Voltaire's *Le Désastre de Lisbonne* (p. 209); or that Diderot refused the prebend of his uncle, Canon Vigneron (p. 22); or that Diderot absented himself from Paris for several weeks during the De Prades crisis in 1752 (p. 139, n. 3)? On p. 207 M. Roth misinterprets a remark of Rousseau to mean that Diderot had actually visited the Hermitage, whereas the context shows that he had yet done so only in Rousseau's imagination (Rousseau, *Corr. gén.*, II, p. 279).

It is to be hoped that pointing out the few errors of fact discovered in so valuable a work of scholarship will not seem invidious. Catherine I Diderot, the Encyclopedist's younger sister, died August 30, 1716 (parish records at Langres), not Aug. 3 (Roth, p. 22). The Catherine Diderot who died on December 26, 1735 (Roth, p. 23) was not Catherine II Diderot, Denis Diderot's younger sister, but his aunt, dead at the age of 46 (parish records of Langres). The square on which Diderot's family lived in Langres was the Place Chambeau, not Champeau (Roth, p. 13 n.); Diderot's acquaintance with Wille dated from 1742 (Lady Dilke, *French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the XVIIIth Century* [London, 1902], p. 73), not 1740 (Roth, p. 24); it was not Mme de Puisieux who was born at Meaux on Nov. 28, 1713 (Roth, p. 52, n. 1), but her husband; Denis Diderot became the godfather of a Caroillon infant on Nov. 13, 1754 (Marcel, *Le Frère*

de Diderot, p. 12 n.), not Nov. 4 (Roth, p. 178 n.); and the "destinataire inconnu" of a letter from Grimm (Roth, p. 204) was Marshal Castries (Albert Tornezy, *La Légende des "Philosophes"* [Paris, 1911], p. 77). M. Roth asserts (p. 75) that Voltaire and Diderot never met. The important letter published by M. Roth on p. 82 was really addressed to the Count d'Argenson (Bonnefon, *RHLF*, VI [1899], p. 214), not the Chancellor d'Aguesseau.

In spite of these few inaccuracies or challengeable points, the Roth edition is an invaluable one, deserving to be welcomed warmly by Diderot specialists and amateurs alike.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Selected Essays*, ed. by Mary E. Gilbert (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955. xxxv + 158 pp.). THE publication of a selection of Hofmannsthal's essays was an excellent idea. For his essays present such a large and varied literary achievement that a selection seems a logical approach to the whole *œuvre* of the essays.

The value of the selection is immensely increased by Miss Gilbert's introduction (35 pp.) and notes (14 pp.). Apart from the obvious help for the reader who comes to this material for the first time, the introduction is in itself a highly competent and clarifying piece of scholarship. The portrait of the poet Hofmannsthal as *homme de lettres* has been drawn here in a precise and comprehensive fashion. With this Miss Gilbert laid the much needed groundwork for more detailed research of the material.

In addition the introduction contains many other important aspects of which I can mention only one: the place which the essays hold within Hofmannsthal's work. In pointing out that the most fertile essay period was the time after the Lord Chandos crisis, the first decade of this century when the poet experienced his most conscious and decisive development, and in describing these essays as "a vital piece of self-clarification" (XIX) Miss Gilbert suggests an inner connection between the end of Hofmannsthal's lyric productivity and the poet's psychological motive in writing these essays. Hermann Broch already saw this phenomenon, and I believe it will enrich not only our understanding of the essays but also of Hofmannsthal's personality. The purpose of the book required the arrangement of the text by subject matter (Literatur, Theater, Kunst, etc.). One of the most character-

istic features, however, is the fact that none of Hofmannsthal's essays has only one point of focus. Hofmannsthal writes in "Sebastian Melmoth" (and the omission of this piece is my only reservation to the book): "Es ist überall alles. Alles ist im Reigen" (Prose II, 137). And as he ends this characteristically complex master-piece on Oscar Wilde, the extreme representative of the Western world, with a quotation by an Indian sage, he applies, as it were, his view in practice. In doing this Hofmannsthal makes the reader participate in his way of thinking which always results in *eine Berührung der Sphären*. This, too, is a unique quality of the essays: they allow, or rather, force the reader to share the original creative experience. "Nicht: vieles zu kennen, aber: vieles miteinander in Berührung zu bringen, ist eine Vorstufe des Schöpferischen" (Buch der Freunde, 55).

Students and teachers of literature have good reason to feel happily indebted to Miss Gilbert and her publishers.

Swarthmore College

HILDE D. COHN

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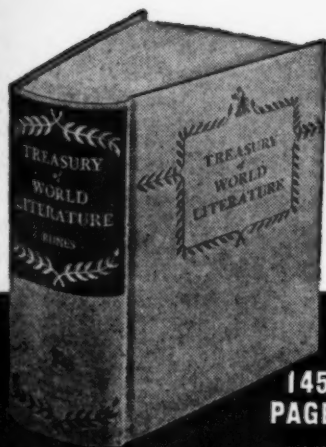
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